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The Proselyte Movement in Later Judaism

BY

FREDERICK MILTON DERWACTER

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1930

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"The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty. . . . They were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance by sharing it too easily with the strangers of the earth. . . . Whenever the God of Israel acquired new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humor of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries."

GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

* * * * *

"Judaism, the first great missionary religion of the Mediterranean world."

GEORGE FOOT MOORE, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* I, 324.

* * * * *

"C'est peut-être la première religion qui ait su bien mettre à profit l'activité des missionaires."

JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain,* I, 254 note.

PREFACE

Having spent a number of years in foreign mission service, I found upon my return to the field of New Testament studies that my interest was early claimed by the proselyte movement in later Judaism, because I saw in it a missionary enterprise on a considerable scale, which, with all our interest in Christian expansion, from earliest times to our own, had received no thorough study. Frequent attention is called to the significant fact that Christianity, though born in Palestine, very soon turned its attention to the winning of recruits in foreign lands, and that it had such great success at this task as to become within a century practically a Gentile movement. The background of this unique progress is sought in the general religious situation in the pagan world, exemplified especially by the breakdown of the national religions, the development of the Mysteries, and the spread of the ideas of monotheism and universalism. Jewish history, however, not only shows the expulsive forces acting upon Christianity, which Acts is constantly pointing out, but may also, I believe, have furnished to early Christianity a solid background of experience of success and failure in a similar mission, which made it possible for Christianity almost from the first to see clearly along what route it should move to reach the Gentile world.

When the proselyte movement is dealt with it is usually in the most cursory way, as an introduction to the Christian movement. It is regarded as at best a very feeble effort in contrast with Christianity's great success. It was certainly more than a feeble effort, as we hope to show, and if at last we have to say that it failed of its purpose, it was a failure that not only had important results in the Christian movement which followed, but also, as the first attempt at world-wide religious propaganda, may have significant lessons for missionary activities in our age.

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PREPARING THE WAY FOR PAUL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem and the Sources

The subject of this discussion is closely related to the whole history of Jewish apologetic. Frequently Jewish self-respect rose to expression against calumny. The misunderstandings and misrepresentations which were current almost everywhere were no doubt causes of much inconvenience, of financial loss and even of personal danger in the complex society of the ancient world. It was to offset these that the mass of literature appeared which purported to explain what Judaism was, how it arose, and what its principles were. Thus Josephus busied himself with answering, in his treatise *Against Apion,* a whole train of criticisms, some of which had arisen generations earlier. Philo, in his work entitled *Against Flaccus,* tried to remove the misunderstandings about the riots in Alexandria. And both Josephus and Philo, as well as other Jewish writers, by putting forth the history and teaching of Judaism in terms suited to Gentile understanding, tried to disarm criticism and correct the current misconceptions of their religion as mysterious and misanthropic.

But it is not primarily with this type of effort that we are to deal. It is rather with propaganda, i.e. the deliberate attempt of the Jews to win Gentile adherents to their religion. Of course, to create a friendly atmosphere was most essential, and where such an atmosphere existed it was capitalized even though not created with this intent. We shall limit ourselves to the actual missionary movement as such, and shall ask: In what sense and to what extent did such a movement exist? What was its source and what its driving power? What were the favoring or hindering conditions? What were its methods? What was the measure of its success, from the point of view of numbers reached, of the degree to which the convert was assimilated, and of its general social influence, including its influence upon the development of missionary methods in early Christianity?

Our source materials must be gleaned from many quarters. No one in the ancient world saw the real significance of what was going on. We have no history of the Dispersion, to say nothing of a history of the Jewish Mission. We do have, however, a good many contemporary references to proselytes and proselytism in the Jewish literature of the Greek and Roman periods and in the New Testament, as well as a number of interesting classical passages. In addition to this material, we can draw on the later rabbinic literature for some reflections of the events and controversies of the earlier era, and also on the writings of the church fathers.

The Situation in the Gentile World

The word *proselyte,* a Greek word introduced into

Græco-Jewish literature as the equivalent of the Hebrew *ger,* a resident alien, came later to have the technical and limited meaning of a convert to Judaism. The consequence is that the experience for which it stands tends to be isolated to a degree that beclouds its real significance. Conversion *to Judaism* was not a peculiar phenomenon in the ancient world. It was rather one phase of a widely extended religious situation and is best understood in its relation to the whole.

From the time of Alexander, as has often been remarked, a new mood seemed to grow and spread in the ancient Mediterranean area. First of all arose a conception of unity, the counterpart on a vaster scale of the unity that had grown up among the states of Greece. With the building of roads and the firmer establishment of government, travel increased, and wider mutual knowledge among peoples ensued. The ease of migration loosened the bonds that held men to their old homes, and made them seek opportunity in other lands. Such people found satisfactions in new relationships, in new social groups, made up often of other strangers like themselves.

Such a world facilitated the spread of religious cults of every sort. Far from his local god, the tendency was for a man to pick here or there the cult that responded to his needs. The age of the mystery religions is one of the most astonishing periods in religious history, a period characterized by religious migration and experiment in the search for religious satisfaction such as finds no parallel to this day. Christianity appeared in this world, launched, we might say, on the crest of the wave and swept to a speedy victory. In this same world situation Judaism had been playing a part for some three centuries before Christianity appeared. Hardened by many experiences of exile and impelled by the uncertainty of life in Palestine, while nations and empires fought their way back and forth across the narrow borders of their homeland, Jews migrated easily to almost every quarter of the known world, established colonies which preserved much of their peculiar culture, especially the synagogue and their traditions of the divinely revealed law, and became a conspicuous component of ancient world society.[1]

Naturally the migration of peoples tended to cause the migration of religions. Religions varied in their vitality under the hardships of transplantation. Many survived, flourished, attracted new adherents, absorbed new elements. Others sank into a subordinate rôle in the scheme of a more vital rival. The period was one of inevitable syncretism and inevitable contest for supremacy, a carrying into the West of the denationalizing and universalizing influences that had already been at work in the Persian empire.[2]

Judaism was one of the religions that had unusual vitality. It had a rigid and intolerant monotheism and it had acquired in previous migration a degree of resistance to encroachment that seemed peculiarly its own. Quite aside from whatever numerical strength it might have, it was conspicuous. Other immigrants tended to merge into their environment, but the merging of the rest only helped to make the Jew, like a rock in the sea, more conspicuous. So, to continue the figure, Judaism found itself in the great current of the world's life, attracting many whose religious footing had been lost.

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[1] For the extent and general character of the Dispersion see E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (4 *Aufl.*, 1909), III. 1-188,* Eng. trans. of 2nd ed., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 219-327); T. Reinach, art. "Diaspora" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 559-574; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, 2 vols., 1914.

[2] Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 2 *Aufl.*, 1911, III, 167ff.

In this age of religious quest [3] Judaism, often suffering the same experiences that befell other religions [4] but ever intolerantly asserting its own unique character, played a very interesting and important part. That part has been greatly obscured, as have the parts played by others, in the later overwhelming success of Christianity, and also in the consequent overshadowing of Judaism's broader aspects. The significant fact for us to note now is that converts to Judaism were only a part of the myriads who were finding their satisfactions in new religious connections. Any effort, therefore, to see the proselyte as an isolated phenomenon, or to see him only in the light of the later Christian propaganda, makes a proper evaluation of his importance impossible.

Common, however, as the movement toward new religions was, there does not seem to have been any word universally applied to the individual who had made the change. The two words that were currently used for a convert to the mysteries were derived from the nature of the mystery experience. When strictly used one of them referred to the candidate who was under oath but had not yet beheld the mysteries, the other to one who had beheld them; but in practice the former was used broadly of converts in general, without reference to seeing or not seeing.[5] These words did not describe the experience of the convert to Judaism. Converts were not sworn to secrecy, shown hidden marvels or tokens, or in any sense "initiated" with orgiastic rites. While circumcision might be likened to some of the mystic rites (e.g. the mutilation in the rites of Attis) the dissimilarities are very obvious.[6] We have no record of any mystic experience associated therewith, preceding, attendant upon or following.[7] While transition from one faith to another was common in the ancient world, the content of the experience of the proselyte perhaps did not suggest the word in current use in the mysteries.

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[3] Cf., S. J. Case, *Social Origins of Christianity,* chap. iii; F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* 2nd ed., 1909, Eng. trans., 1911, pp. 20-45. H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration,* 1929.

[4] Cf., Josephus (*Antiquities* 18:3:4-5), associating Judaism with Isis worship; Suetonius (*Tiberius,* 36; Reinach, *Textes des auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaisme,* 1896, p. 328), and Tacitus (*Annals* 2:85; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 295), associating it with Egyptian rites; Valerius Maximus 1:3; (Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 258f.), associating it with "Chaldeans."

Furthermore, we must reckon with the intolerant spirit of Judaism. The joining of most ancient cults did not involve any striking separation from previous affiliations. Much of social bonds and common practices might be carried over, to say nothing of actual religious connections. But conversion to Judaism was notoriously a matter of social revolution.[8] With all that it had in common with other religious transitions it had something so distinct as to make it seem to many to be unique.

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[5] Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion,* 1903, p. 153. The Greek words are *mystes* and *epoptes.*

[6] Circumcision was not usually performed by the person himself, nor was it done in ecstasy, nor as the climax of a ceremony.

[7] Note the matter of fact manner of Izates; Josephus, *Ant.* 20:2; 4: "He retired to another room and sent for the surgeon."

[8] Tacitus, *History* 5:5; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 307. It led proselytes to "despise the gods, to abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers and their children."

The word "disciple" was used, according to Acts, for those who at first went over to Christianity. This was a word used generally of pupils of a philosopher in the Greek world. In the circle of Alexandrian Judaism, fond as it was of portraying the Jewish religion as a philosophy, its ancient worthies as philosophers and Moses as the chief of all philosophers, one might expect the word to appear as the designation of the Gentile who had come over to the Jewish system of truth. We find, however, no instance of such use.

The fact which we must not overlook is that, while the terms we have considered were used generally of members of a group, the word proselyte defined not all persons who followed Judaism but only such as were non-Jews by birth. It made a social distinction.[9] The real reason why the word proselyte was used was not that it was the most accurate or expressive word available for the experience involved, but that it and its Hebrew counterpart were already in the current Jewish speech, having grown up through many generations of social experience. The history of this development is as important for our study as was the general situation in the Gentile world which we have just sketched.

[9] Some such distinction is doubtless involved in the inscription, to which Schürer has called our attention: "*adopted brothers* worshipers of God most high" in "Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche," *Sitzungberichte der Akad. der Wiss.,* 1897, p. 207.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TERM "PROSELYTE"

> From an early date the Semitic communities embraced in addition to the free tribesmen of pure blood with their families and slaves, a class of men who were personally free but had no political rights, viz., the protected strangers, of whom mention is so often made in the Old Testament and in early Arabic literature. The *ger* was a man of another tribe or district who, coming to sojourn in a place where he was not strengthened by the presence of his own kin, put himself under the protection of a clan or of a powerful chief.[10]

The conception of a close relation existing between the land and the god (cf. II Kings 17:24ff.) and the people and the god (cf. Jer. 2:10-11) made it inevitable that the *ger* should bear some relation to the god of the people among whom, and the land in which, he had come to live. The Hebrew law has many references to the *ger*. The development in his religious status is nowhere so clearly presented as in the contrast between Deut. 14:21 (D) and Lev. 17:15 (P). In the earlier passage it is permissible to give the *ger* meat of animals not properly killed, in the latter it is expressly forbidden to do so. In D generally it may be noted that the *ger* does not enjoy social or religious equality. He is commended to the charity of the Israelite and said to be loved by

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[10] Quoted from W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* pp. 75f. Cf. also A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten zu den Fremden,* 1896, pp. 27f.

Jehovah. All that is expressly required of him is the keeping of the Sabbath (Deut. 5:14). In P, however, he has risen to practical equality with the Israelite, socially and religiously ("one law shall there be for the homeborn and for the *ger,*" Lev. 24:22; also Exod. 12:49; Num. 9:14; 15:15, 16, 29), enjoying the same privileges (Ezek. 47:22-23) and subject to the same requirements (e.g. he must be circumcised to eat the passover, Exod. 12:48 cf. Deut. 16:11).[11]

This development is no doubt the result of the strict policy of the exilic community which shut out the alien and required the full assimilation of those long resident among them. The assimilation had perhaps already gone far, as Bertholet thinks,[12] during the trying experiences faced together in the Exile (cf. Ezek. 47:22). Comparing the exclusive spirit of Ezekiel and of the P tradition toward the heathen with their liberal attitude toward the *ger,* it is obvious that there is religious assimilation.[13] All are "strangers and sojourners" now (Lev. 25:23; cf. Pss. 39:2; 119:19; I Chron. 29:15). The new distribution of land must include even the *ger.* He is one of the people of God.

Such in brief is the story of the *ger,* and for this word the Septuagint generally uses "proselyte."[14]

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[11] Cf. S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* ("Int. Crit. Commentary"), pp. 126, 165.

[12] *Op. cit.,* pp. 110f.; cf. K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology,* 1918, p. 410.

[13] Isaiah 56:1-8.

[14] This, says Dr. Hort (*First Epistle of Peter,* p. 154), is "a word unknown in classical literature unless the scholium on Apollonius Rhodius 1:834 be an exception." Moulton and Milligan (*Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament,* p. 548) add only one Cyrenaic inscription (*Sarra proselytos*).

Obviously it does not have the technical religious connotations of later times. It expresses the original meaning of the word *ger*, that is, a resident alien, though the context helps us see the gradual development of the newer shade of meaning. It is still possible to describe Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt as proselytes (Deut. 10:19 etc.). Moreover it should be noted that Naaman is not called a *ger* and hence not a proselyte, though his experience corresponds to the later conception of proselytes.[15] Ruth was a *ger* in the original sense of the word and has also been made by later tradition into an ideal proselyte, though the word was not used of her.[16] Esther and Judith also have the proselyte experience in the religious sense, but not the word.[17] This is all the more significant when we note that the Book of Esther uses a form otherwise unknown for the transitional experience, *mityahadim* ("become Jews").[18] The religious conception was still not the essential element in the *ger;* it was foreign residence under local protection. This was what "proselyte" aimed to set forth.[19] The transition to that use of the word in which the religious sense is dominant and determinative took place among groups of Jews residing abroad. Non-Jews who sought their fellowship were still called *ger*,[20] though they were not residents of Israel. Hitherto, the almost universal way into the religious fellowship having been by immigration, the immigrant became the convert, and the convert, by designation, now became the immigrant. The situation changed but the word remained. For the sake of comparison let us suppose that modern American missionaries, winning converts to Christianity in the Orient, should designate them by a term that denotes the social status in America of the negro, or, better still, the new American. An interesting instance of such social influence on religious terminology is that of the ancient word for "rustic" (i.e. *paganus*) having become our term for the unchristianized. We should have an even nearer parallel with the word proselyte if we could find that the opposite of *paganus* (i.e. *urbanus*) was ever used for "convert." Our word "heathen," in like manner, is derived from a word meaning rural.

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[15] II Kings 5. There are other examples in the O.T. of appeal to foreign gods: Num. 22 (Balak of Moab to Balaam), II Kings 1:1 (King Ahaziah of Israel to Baalzebub, god of Ekron), but no such case of complete adherence.

[16] Ruth 1:16-17; 2:12.

[17] Esther 8:17; 9:27; Judith 14:10.

[18] Hirsch, art. "Proselyte" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* X, 220.

[19] The occurrence of the word *geiorai* in the LXX text of Exod. 12:13; Isa. 14:1, and in Origen's *Hexapla* reading of Lev. 19:34 (the transliteration of the Aramaic form of *ger*), indicates that there might have been an effort to differentiate this newly developed meaning of *ger;* cf. Hort, *First Epistle of Peter,* pp. 154f. This is a further proof of the persistence of the broad signification for *proselyte,* but it is doubtful how far it can be pressed.

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[20] Cf. usage in the Mishna. Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 177, 175n. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 317, 315n.). Bertholet, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-178, calls attention to II Chron. 30 and 15:9 where he thinks we have the first use of *gerim* in the religious sense. Hence "in der zeit zwischen P und dem Chronisten hat sich also der Schritt vollzogen; *ger* hat den specifischen Sinn bekommen, in dem es später in die thalmudische Litteratur übergegangen ist" (p. 178). But it must be said that they still constitute a social class, that they are invited to Jerusalem with the Israelites as a matter of course, and there is no indication of expecting any special act of transition on their part.

CHAPTER II

THE PROSELYTE AND THE GOD-FEARER

THE "PROSELYTE" IN THE SOURCES

THE avenue of quickest approach to our study of the proselyte as a religious convert in his social milieu is from the New Testament. In the festival crowd thronging Jerusalem which serves as the background for Luke's picture of the first preaching of the new gospel by the disciples of Jesus, there are "Jews and proselytes" from "every nation under heaven."[1] Later, in the group of seven chosen to help the apostles, appears a man of Antioch who is called a proselyte.[2] Finally, in the account of the missionary service of Paul and Barnabas we learn from Acts that many of those who gave attention to their preaching were "devout proselytes."[3] It is obvious at once that here is the *ger* in the newer sense: no resident of Palestine but a religious adherent. Granting that the man from Antioch must have been a resident of Jerusalem at the time mentioned in Acts 6, in order to attain his prominent place among the Christian disciples there, the language would seem to indicate that he was a Gentile who had accepted Judaism at Antioch. At any rate it is clear that the proselytes in 2:10 constitute an added touch to heighten the picture and so can hardly be thought of as Jerusalemites. As to the last-named passage (13:43) there is no question; in Pisidian Antioch we stand firmly on Gentile soil, and we see the Gentiles as worshipers with the Jews in the synagogue. This wider development of Judaism is further reflected in the remark attributed to Jesus in Matt. 23:15. "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte." The whole horizon has been broadened. Whereas in the Old Testament we found the proselytes a social class in Palestine, we now find them definitely related to synagogues abroad. These four passages which we have mentioned are the only ones in which the term stands in the New Testament, and they all refer to Gentile adherents of Judaism. What is the resultant conception? Whether or not there is trustworthy Palestinian tradition back of the data in the early chapters of Acts, we have before us, from the closing portion of the first century A.D., and from a part of the world where the Jews were exceedingly numerous, the assumption that Gentiles as proselytes were associated with the non-Palestinian Jews in their worship, even going up to the feasts at Jerusalem with them; and that some of these proselytes, almost immediately after the ascension of Jesus, found their way into the Christian circle. The Matthew passage has a still wider significance as to proselytizing activity which will be treated later.[4]

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[1] Acts 2:5, 10. Assuming that "Jews and proselytes" is in apposition with the foregoing list. So Wendt in Meyer *Krit. u. Exeget. Komm.*, 9 *Aufl.*, 1913, p. 83. Also Bertholet, *op. cit.*, pp. 301f.

[2] Acts 6:5.

[3] Acts 13:43.

The surmise that proselytes to Judaism were numerous in many quarters in the first century A.D.

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[4] See pp. 42ff. below.

is borne out by the testimony of Josephus, though he never uses the word. He describes a certain prominent woman in Rome in terms that can hardly be misinterpreted: one who had "come over" (using a Greek verb from the same stem as proselyte) to Jewish customs.[5] He also says that the Jews in Antioch "brought over to their worship continually a large number of Greeks and in a manner made them a part of themselves."[6] In his great appeal for Judaism in the last part of the treatise *Against Apion* he says that there is no enmity or jealousy between Jews and Greeks. "Many of them [i.e. the Greeks] have entered into our laws (using a verb closely related to proselyte)."[7] He relates in detail the events connected with the coming over to Judaism of the royal house of Adiabene, a kingdom on the Parthian border to the east.[8]

Philo uses the word proselyte but uses it as though it was not familiar to his readers. He explains it as a technical term of the Mosaic law, on the basis of its derivation. "And these last," he says, "he [i.e. Moses] calls proselytes from the fact of their having *come over* to a new and God-fearing constitution."[9] In another connection he says, "These men have forsaken their country and their national customs . . . have come over to piety."[10] Again he says, "This man [Abraham] is the standard of nobleness for all proselytes, leaving that ignobleness which attaches to them from foreign laws and unbecoming customs which give honors such as are due only to God to stocks and to stones, . . . coming over to a constitution really full of vitality and life."[11] He does not mention any particular proselytes, but it is evident from his language that he knows them. Moreover he assumes their presence in the Jewish community when he urges their claims to special sympathy and care.[12] A century later, perhaps also in Alexandria, but more probably in Antioch, the Epistle of Barnabas is conscious of a movement toward Judaism. It undertakes to set forth the new Christian truth about sacrificing and fasting as having been "revealed to us beforehand in order that we should not rush forward as proselytes of their laws."[13]

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[5] *Ant.* 18:3:5.

[6] *War* 7:3:3.

[7] *Against Apion* 2:10 (11).

[8] *Ant.* 20:2:2-4; cf. *War* 6:6:4.

[9] *On Monarchy* 1:7.

[10] *On Those Sacrificing* 10.

In a Palestinian apocalypse of the same period we read, "For lo! I see many of Thy people who have withdrawn from Thy covenant and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. But others again I have seen who have forsaken their vanity and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings."[14] In the light of Ruth 2:12 the figure here is clearly seen to portray the proselyte. Apocalyptic literature frequently shows a generous spirit toward Gentiles, but I believe it offers no other testimony so direct as this.

While the word proselyte does not occur in the works of Greek and Roman literary writers, there are interesting references that indicate consciousness of the presence among Jews of Gentiles devoted to their ways. Dio Cassius (c. 150-235 A.D.) evidently has proselytes in mind when he says, "What is the origin of the term [Jew]? I do not know. But it applies to all men even of different races who follow the laws of the Jews."[15] Arrian of Nicomedia (c. 100-165 A.D.) represents Epictetus as saying, "When we see a man playing half one part and half another, we are accustomed to say, 'He is not a Jew, but he is playing the Jew.' It is only when he has the experience of *the baptized and the chosen* that he really is and is called a Jew."[16] It is a matter of dispute whether Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla, who suffered, the former death and the latter banishment, under their kinsman Domitian, were Jewish or Christian converts. The former seems more probable from the account of Dio Cassius, who says that many in Rome had strayed into Jewish customs and been placed under the ban of atheism.[17] It is evident that Dio thinks of them as Jewish proselytes. Those who take them as Christians do so upon the basis of Eusebius,[18] who however mentions only Domitilla and makes her the niece of Flavius Clemens, the consul. Rabbinic writings also have the tradition of a nephew of Domitian adopting Judaism.[19] At any rate we have in the passages quoted above the reflection of a society in which Gentiles were known to turn Jews. It is referred to as a familiar phenomenon.

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[11] *On Nobility* 5.

[12] *On Humanity* 12.

[13] *Epistle of Barnabas* 3:6; c. 132 A.D.

[14] *Apoc. Baruch* 41:3. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha,* II, 490.

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[15] *History of Rome* 37:16-17. Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 181-182.

[16] *Dissertations of Epictetus* II. 9:19-21; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 154f.

[17] *History* 67:14; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 195f.

[18] *Hist. Eccl.* 3:18:5. Juster well remarks that if there had been any early evidence that Flavius Clemens was a Christian, Eusebius would have used it. (*Les Juifs*, I, 257.)

[19] Git. 56b; Krauss, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 406.

About the middle of the second century Justin Martyr was active in Rome. His *Dialogue with Trypho* makes frequent mention of proselytes. In one place he argues as though it were the common policy for Jews to put forth the proselytes as adequate fulfillment of Messianic passages such as Isa. 49:6.[20] This would indicate the presence of proselytes in considerable numbers near enough to make such an appeal effective. Justin's appeal, it should be noted, is to Trypho and also "to those who wish to become proselytes." [21] The presence of proselytes and the tendency to go over to Judaism have motivated his writing. The same thing might be said of Tertullian, writing against the Jews and beginning with a report of a conversation with a proselyte.[22] He argues from the existence of proselytes that God's revelation was not intended merely for Jews, as many Jews contended. This finds us in Carthage some two generations after Justin. The references in Clement of Alexandria [23] and Irenæus [24] need indicate only such knowledge as might be gained from reading the Septuagint.

I have already cited the one Greek inscription extant in which the word proselyte is used.[25] Besides this there are several Latin inscriptions from the Jewish catacombs in Rome, three in memory of women and one in memory of a man.[26] These will help us to complete the picture.

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[20] Chap. cxxii.
[21] Chap. xxiii.
[22] *Adv. Iudæos,* chap. i.
[23] *Who Is the Rich Man?* chap. xxviii.
[24] *Adv. Hær,* 3:21:1.
[25] See above, p. 21, note 14.

On the basis of the evidence assembled we may conclude that in the first and second centuries A.D. proselytes existed in Palestine,[27] in Antioch,[28] in Rome,[29] in Alexandria,[30] in Carthage,[31] in Cyrenaica,[32] in lands to the east of Palestine,[33] and, on the basis of Acts, far and wide in the Græco-Roman world.[34]

THE "GOD-FEARER" IN THE SOURCES

We have considered, however, only part of our evidence. Another and more perplexing aspect remains. In addition to the rare occurrence of the word proselyte in the New Testament there are in Acts other terms which stand closely related and which are usually translated "God-fearers" or "devout." Before we can proceed further with our study we must attempt to determine who these people were.

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[26] N. Müller, *Jüdische Katakombe zu Rom,* 1919, p. 74, No. 77: *Felicitas proselita ann* (*orum*) *VI Nuen* (for LXX form of Naomi?) *n*(*omine*) *peregrina, quæ vixit annos XLVII Patronus venemerenti;* Oehler, in *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Jud.,* LIII (1909), 447, No. 170; *Beturia Paulla f. domi heterne quos tituta qui bixit an. LXXXVI meses VI proselyta an. XVI nomine Sara mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni. En irenæ ai kymysis au . . . ;* Garrucci, *Dissertazioni,* II, 166: *Mannacius sorori Chrusidi dulcissime proselyti;* cited by Müller, *loc. cit.; Marcucchi,* in *Armellini mensile,* 1883, p. 188, No. 1: *Nicete proselyto digno et benemerenti;* cited by Müller, *loc. cit.*

[27] *Apoc. Baruch,* Acts 6:5.

[28] Acts 6:5; Josephus, *War* 7:3:3; Matt. 23:15; *Ep. of Barnabas.*

[29] Josephus, *Ant.* 18:3:5; Justin; Dio Cassius; Inscriptions; Arrian.

[30] Philo; *Ep. of Barnabas* (?).

[31] Tertullian.

[32] Inscription.

[33] Josephus, *Ant.* 20:2-4; cf. Esther.

[34] Acts 2:1-10.

Cornelius was a Gentile, a man with whom Peter hesitated to have such relations as were limited to Jews, though he was characterized as "one who fears God and works righteousness." [35] He was a man of prayer who worshiped the Jewish God, gave alms to the Jews, and was held in good repute generally by the Jewish people.[36] Such a man stood in a definite though unofficial and informal relation to the Jews.

The terms used to characterize Cornelius occur frequently in subsequent chapters of Acts. They designate persons in the Jewish synagogues or other meeting-places who were especially susceptible to Paul's teaching. In his extended speech at Pisidian Antioch Paul addresses them twice in the phrases: "ye that fear God" and "those among you who fear God." [37] He wins some "devout proselytes," but the Jews use the influence of some "devout women" to stir up persecution.[38] At Philippi, in a *proseuche* by the river, Paul met Lydia, "who worshiped God," [39] and again in Corinth when the Jews of the synagogue opposed him, in fulfillment of his assertion that he would go to the Gentiles, he went to the neighboring house of a man named Justus "who worshiped God." [40] In Thessalonica he found some attentive listeners among the "devout Greeks," [41] and later in Athens found "devout persons" in the synagogue with whom to discuss his new message.[42] In these passages it is evident that we are dealing with non-Jews.

In the Old Testament, however, while there is a possibility that in a few verses in the later Psalms the expression "ye that fear the Lord" indicates Gentiles in contrast with the Jewish laity and the priesthood,[43] usage for the most part seems to point to the more general meaning of Israelites *par excellence,* the true worshipers of Jehovah.[44]

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[35] Acts 10:35.

[36] Acts 10:2.

[37] Acts 13:16, 26.

[38] Acts 13:43, 50.

[39] Acts 16.14.

[40] Acts 18:7.

[41] Acts 17:4.

[42] Acts 17:17.

Schürer[45] attributes to Deyling's *Observationes sacræ* the first formulation of the opinion that in Acts we have in proselytes and God-fearers the classes corresponding to the rabbinical "proselytes of righteousness" and "proselytes of the gate." While following this traditional classification in his first edition, in his second Schürer decisively laid to rest this widely accepted error.[46] He finds that the expression "proselyte of the gate" (*ger sha'ar*) is foreign to the Mishna and the Talmud, and does not appear until the thirteenth century.[47] In the Mishna we find *ger* and *ger-toshab.* The former means a convert to Judaism, hence a proselyte in the strict sense; the latter the stranger dwelling in the land of Israel, the *metoikos.* Later the term *ger-hazedek* was coined to make the use of *ger* in the religious sense clearer, and this term, therefore, exactly corresponds to the proselyte. But the *ger-toshab,* which later became the *ger-sha'ar,* has nothing to do with the "God-fearer." According to Philo [48] and the Talmud [49] he was a non-Jew residing in Palestine, i.e. the Old Testament *ger.*

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[43] Pss. 115:11-13; 118:4; 135:30; Briggs *Psalms* (Int. Crit. Commentary") II, 395, "The proselytes from other nations . . . as additional to the house of Israel"; *Jewish Encyc.,* VIII, 521, "The whole body of pious persons outside the house of Israel." Possibly, however, it is an inclusive term taking in all the previous categories.

[44] Porter, art. "Proselyte," in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible,* IV, 134b.

[45] *Geschichte,* III, 177, note 73 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 316, note 293).

[46] *Geschichte,* III, 177ff. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 316ff.). This, to Lake (*Earlier Epistles of St. Paul,* 1914, p. 37) "is one of the greatest steps forward which have been made of late years in the interpretation of early Christianity."

[47] Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era,* 1927, p. 341, points out that its first user is uncertain of its exact meaning.

However, disposing of an erroneous terminology does not solve our real problem. If the God-fearer was not the "proselyte of the gate," what was he? Bertholet, reacting from the old classification, goes all the way over to the other extreme. If he was not the *ger-sha'ar* then he was the *ger-hazedek.* "God-fearer" is just another name for "proselyte." [50] That is, there were no classes in the Gentile constituency of the synagogue; one was either a proselyte or he was a heathen. Bertholet's chief argument lies in the usage of Paul in his speech at Pisidian Antioch. Paul addresses his audience as "Brothers," and then adds "children of the stock of Abraham and those among you who fear God." [51] Now in such a community, if there were Gentiles affiliated with the synagogue, there would be proselytes. In fact they are later mentioned (verse 43). They are not otherwise addressed. Therefore they must be "those among you who fear God." They belong to the category "brothers" but manifestly could not be included in the "children of the stock of Abraham." This interpretation seems to be confirmed by a passage from

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[48] *Fragm. on Exod.,* 22:20.

[49] Schürer, *loc. cit.*

[50] Bertholet, *op. cit.,* p. 334. W. R. Smith and W. H. Bennett, in *Encyc. Biblica,* Vol. III, col. 3904, incline to the same position: "Schürer's only example (Izates) suggests that orthodox Jews only recognized one class of real proselytes."

[51] Acts 13:26.

Josephus [52] which follows the form of the Acts passage. He is accounting for the wealth of the Temple. He says that it represents gifts of Jews from all over the world, "and of those who worship God" and even of people from Asia and Europe. The last mentioned class probably accounts for gifts from various individuals who had journeyed to Jerusalem, or at most is a supplementary classification from the geographical point of view. The other two represent two distinct groups. What else can they be but Jews and proselytes? Bertholet also reminds us that Philo knows but one class of proselytes; that Josephus, in the so-called Tarichæa incident [53] shows the either—or ultimatum which the foreigner faced; that Paul knows only circumcision and uncircumcision, with no middle ground; that the Hebrew original of God-fearers appears in the rabbinic literature as *yir'e shama'im* (heaven-fearers) to designate one who "surnames himself by the name of Israel." [54] It also is applied to the proselyte Roman senator who by his suicide averts the terrible fate determined by the Roman senate for all Jews.[55] Hence Bertholet concludes that there was a single class of Gentiles concerned in all references, called sometimes proselytes and sometimes God-fearers.

TWO CLASSES AMONG JUDAIZING GENTILES

Aside from the terms themselves, however, there is evidence that there did exist heathen who assumed the obligations of more or less but not all of the Jewish code. The case of Cornelius is the most obvious example. He was a heathen with whom Peter only after a heavenly vision could be brought to have ordinary social intercourse. Luke tells of a centurion in Galilee who was interested enough in Judaism to build a synagogue.[56] He "loved" the Jewish nation, and yet, as a heathen, was "unworthy" to have Jesus as a Jewish teacher come under his roof. Josephus tells of trouble in Damascus due to the fact that the wives of many of the men of the city were being influenced by the Jewish religion.[57] He also mentions Joppæa as a God-fearer [58] and on good terms with the Jews of Rome,[59] though she is never claimed as a proselyte. Says Josephus:

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[52] *Ant.* 14:72.

[53] Josephus, *Life* 23, 31. Some men coming into Galilee from Trachonitis at the beginning of the revolt were given the alternative of circumcision or deportation.

[54] Isaiah 44:5; Mekilta on Exod. 22:20.

[55] Deut. Rabba 2. Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N.T. aus Talmud u. Midrasch, II,* 719.

> The multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our observances; for there is not any city of the Grecians, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatsoever, whither our custom of resting on the seventh day has not come, and by which our fasts and lighting of lamps and many of our prohibitions as to food are not observed.[60]

He quotes Strabo to the effect that the influence of Jewish customs is especially strong in Egypt and Cyrene.[61]

Numerous Gentile writers furnish evidence of a class of people following Jewish sabbaths, fasts and other customs. Plutarch (46-120 A.D.) tells of a "freed-man named Cæcilius who was suspected of Jewish practices," who appeared at the trial of Verres and became the butt of one of Cicero's puns.[62] Horace tells in a satire of meeting his friend Fuscus Aristius, who, he remembers, should have something interesting to tell him. "Not to-day," Fuscus replies, "I will tell you a better time. This is the new moon (the thirtieth sabbath). Do you wish to insult the circumcised Jew?" "O, it's nothing to me," I say. "But me!" answers Fuscus, "I am somewhat weaker—one of the many. Excuse me! Another time!" and passes on, presumably to the synagogue meeting.[63]

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[56] Luke 7:4.

[57] *War* 2:20:2.

[58] *Ant.* 20:8:11.

[59] *Life* 3.

[60] *Against Apion* 2:40.

[61] *Ant.* 14:7:2.

Ovid says that in seeking a love affair one should not forget, among other places, to visit the Jewish weekly meetings, representing them thus, no doubt, as popular gathering places for the curious as well as for the earnest.[64]

Perhaps the clearest case in Roman literature of the partial and the complete follower of Judaism in close contrast is found in Juvenal. He tells of a father who observes the sabbath and follows certain Jewish dietary laws and "worships nothing but the clouds and the sky." That he is a real God-fearer is shown by the fact that his children, continuing after him, go so far as to be circumcised. "Trained to despise the laws of Rome, they learn to maintain the laws of the Jews which Moses transmitted in a mystic volume." And all this comes about, he concludes, because the father did not like to work on the sabbath.[65] This is precisely such a development as we should expect in the household of a Cornelius.

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[62] Plutarch, *Cicero* 7. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 150.
[63] *Sat.* 1:9:60ff.; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 246.
[64] *Ars Amatoria* 1:75:415; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 248.

One Greek inscription showing the use of "God-fearer," and numerous others in Latin with the corresponding Latin term *metuens,* have been found in Jewish burying places, chiefly in Rome. These are to be distinguished from the inscriptions mentioning proselytes (see above p. 29f.). They are conveniently assembled by Oehler, in *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums,* Vol. 53 (1909), Nos. 170, 192-197, 208, 261.

There are reasons for thinking that this class of followers of Judaism may be the God-fearers referred to in the New Testament. They are not properly proselytes; to call them demiproselytes is apt to be misleading. They are heathen, like Cornelius, who, to quote Schürer[66] "adopted the Jewish (i.e. monotheistic and imageless) manner of worship; attended the Jewish synagogues, but who in the observance of the ceremonial law, restricted themselves to certain leading points and hence were regarded as outside the fellowship of the Jewish communities." The usage of Acts favors the identification of the God-fearers with this loosely formed group. The author has at hand the word proselyte but prefers another. He mentions God-fearers at Antioch in a situation where afterwards "Gentiles" are mentioned as having been present.[67] He represents the "devout women" as being influential[68] and hence probably as not having broken with their social circle. In answer to Bertholet[69] it can be said that the combination Jews and God-fearers, in Acts and Josephus, in all probability includes the proselytes among the former;[70] also that the exacting policy pursued by the Jews in Palestine in the trying times preceding the war with Rome[71] cannot fairly be cited to show the spirit of the Diaspora synagogue. Certainly any attempt to make God-fearers mean proselyte is wrecked upon Acts 10, where a centurion who is clearly a heathen is called a God-fearer.[72] The rabbinic citations of Bertholet can be turned directly against him.[73] The Roman senator was a "heaven-fearer" all the while and on familiar terms with the rabbis, but was circumcised only just before his death.[74] The Mekilta on Exod. 22:20 names four distinct classes: law-observing Jews, proselytes, repentant Jews, "heaven-fearers." The tradition of Antoninus also helps us to see the attitude of the Jew toward the Gentile who was partially receptive. Antoninus says to a rabbi (Judah the Saint), "Will you let me eat Leviathan with you in the future world?" "Yes," is the answer. "What," says Antoninus, "you won't let me eat the Passover, and yet you let me eat Leviathan!" "But," answered the rabbi, "it is written of the Passover that no uncircumcised can eat of it."[75] This is evidence that the Jews had a place for the God-fearing Gentile in the Messianic scheme, even though the law limited fellowship in the present age. Of course the sequel is that Antoninus was circumcised.

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[65] *Sat.* 14:96-106; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 292.
[66] *Geschichte* III, 173f. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 314).
[67] Acts 13:42.
[68] Acts 13:50.

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[69] See above, p. 33f.

[70] So Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 177, note.*

[71] Josephus, *Life* 23, 31. See above, p. 34.

[72] Bertholet (*op. cit.*, p. 331) escapes this by saying it is a non-technical use.

[73] Levi, *"Le Proselytisme juif"* *in Revue des études juives,* Vol. L (1905), pp. 1-9. For this material see also Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* II, 719f., note 1.

[74] Deut. Rabba c.2. Strack u. Billerbeck, *loc. cit.*

The study undertaken in this chapter has given us a cross section of the Jewish community. First of all, of course, were the Jews, racially bound to the group with all its customs; then there were proselytes, defined by Philo as those who had "come over to a new and God-fearing constitution, learning to disregard the fabulous inventions of other nations and clinging to unalloyed truth," who have "granted to them the same favors that were bestowed on the native Jews, an equal share in all their laws, and privileges and immunities"; [76] and lastly, there were the Gentiles of varying degrees of devotion to Jewish ideas and customs, who were considered heathen and yet received more or less welcome in the synagogues as sincere persons breaking away from polytheism and seeking to worship the true God.[77] The references to them in Acts and in the rabbinic literature make their identification with the God-fearers fairly certain, and the wide evidence of a group of Gentiles practicing Jewish customs [78] shows, without doubt, the reality of their existence.[79] Psychologically such a group seems inevitable. No longer forced into contact with Judaism by residence in

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[75] Meg. 72b, 74a. Strack u. Billerbeck, *loc. cit.*

[76] *On Monarchy* 7.

[77] E.g. Josephus, *War* 2:18:2.

[78] See above, pp. 34ff.

[79] Cf. Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* on Gospel of John 12:20.

Palestine and so brought to know and accept it, the Gentiles within its influence were not sharply divided into those who accepted and those who rejected. There were the partly informed and the partly persuaded, among whom were the open-minded and the willing-hearted, whom Christianity found to offer such fertile soil for the gospel seed.

The relative numbers of these two classes, the proselytes and the God-fearers, can be determined only on the basis of our own social experience. Every religious organization has a loosely attached unofficial constituency. This is the more inevitable when the requirements for full admittance are difficult. The preponderance of the God-fearer in Acts probably reflects the relative success of Christianity among numbers of that class.[80] However, it is quite possible that the words were sometimes used inaccurately.[81] That there were the two classes there is no doubt. That Christianity's success was among the God-fearers is in accordance with what we should expect, and is implied in Paul's insistence against circumcision.[82]

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[80] Cf. Matt. 23:15. The proselytes evidently were hard to win.

[81] Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East,* 4th edition Eng. trans. 1922, p. 451f) cites an inscription where even Jews are called God-fearers.

[82] Gal. 5:2, "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing."

CHAPTER III

THE EXISTENCE OF A PROPAGANDA

One of the fundamental questions to be asked in this study is, Was there a Jewish propaganda among the Gentiles? The conclusion that there was is not a necessary corollary of the existence of proselytes, even in considerable numbers. There are various ways in which a religious movement may grow. It may grow by the natural increase of its people, by the faithful adherence of successive generations; it may grow through the inevitable accretion caused by near-by individuals or groups, won by various influences, religious or otherwise, attaching themselves to it; or it may grow by a more or less organized propaganda.

There can be no doubt that the first two methods of advancing Judaism were effective. Judaism bases itself on the tradition of Abraham and his family, and is characterized through the centuries by strong racial solidarity. The stories of Naaman and of Ruth illustrate for us the influences at work drawing outsiders toward Judaism, the social forces from the operation of which no nation can be exempt. As to the third method, propaganda, we propose to sift our sources carefully and see just what the real facts are.

THE ANTIOCH CENTER

We have already taken note of Matt. 23:15,[1] which has the striking words addressed to the Pharisees by Jesus: "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is become so, ye make him twofold more a son of hell than yourselves." Obviously here is a reference to propaganda; but of just what sort is it? It reads like party propaganda, rather than propaganda of Judaism as such, and often it is so interpreted.[2] That is, it relates to the spread of the peculiarly Pharisaic principles and practices. It is claimed for this view that the intent of the verse is to stress the comparative failure of the effort ("*Vel unum*"; Wetstein), whereas the general propaganda of Judaism won large numbers. Graetz's view that the reference is to the trip of R. Gamaliel II with three other leading rabbis to Rome to win Flavius Clemens as a full proselyte has not gained acceptance.[3] Another interpretation is that the verse refers to earnest efforts of the Pharisees for Gentile conversions to Judaism, not in a party spirit but with a real zeal to save the mass of humanity from perdition.[4] Such a view identifies the Pharisaic propaganda here referred to with the propaganda of

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[1] See above, p. 25.

[2] Plummer, *Commentary on Matthew,* 1909, p. 317; Allen, *Matthew* ("Int. Crit. Commentary"), 1907, p. 246; Friedländer, *Die Religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu,* 1905, pp. 32-34.

[3] *"Der Vers im Matthäus-Evangelium: einen Proselyten machen"* in *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums,* LIII (1869), 169f. See Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Eng. ed., 1891), II, 387, 389.

[4] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 163* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 304).

Palestinian Judaism. Jesus may have observed it at work among the Gentiles of Galilee. Still another interpretation links up this verse with verse 13 and discovers an early conflict of the Jewish with the Christian community, in some center where both had considerable strength and influence, as in Antioch,[5] the probable provenance of the First Gospel. The Jewish leaders in such places have on their hands two tasks. First, they must protect their own people against the Christian propaganda and counteract so far as possible its amazing progress: "Ye shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye enter not in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering in to enter." Second, they must push their own direct efforts to win Gentile adherents: "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte."

When one compares the parallels in Mark and Luke it is obvious that we have in Matthew 23 a compilation, as we have indeed elsewhere in Matthew (e.g. chapters 5-7, 10, 13). If the Gospel of Matthew were taking its final form in Antioch it would be natural to make use of the polemic against Pharisees as a general polemic against Jews and perhaps to assimilate to it additional charges that might apply more generally against Judaism as a whole. Herford calls attention to a growing tendency to merge the Pharisee and the Jew.[6] To the author of the Gospel of Matthew, no doubt, the zealous, conspicuous Jew was the Pharisee, who with his legalistic zeal and highly organized activity was

[5] Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthœi,* 1904, p. 117; Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels,* 1909, II, 728.

[6] *Pharisaism,* 1924, p. 212. For instance, Paul in Romans attacks the Pharisaic conception of the Torah as Judaism.

especially the enemy of the church. Hence the scribes and Pharisees can well stand for the Judaism to be spurned.[7] We have no parallel for the use of the term *proselyte* for *party-convert.*[8] Moreover there is a vehemence here of which every reader is aware. Heated invective can most reasonably be thought of as preserved and reissued in an atmosphere that still has the elements of the original conflict. It will be well to look to the contemporaneous Antiochean community for a situation to justify it.

Antioch was the place where at least once the conflict between the Judaizing Christians and the Pauline group was fought out.[9] It was the place where Jews and Gentiles lived much of the time in mutually irritating contact.[10] The Christians were caught between the two. In the Gospel of Matthew, they are warned against the practices of both, against the ways of the "Gentiles" and of the "hypocrites." [11] We learn from Josephus that Judaism had had considerable success in winning adherents in Syria.[12] Christianity, therefore, when it began its work in Syria, found the field contested by a Judaism committed to propaganda. Lines had to be drawn sharply: "the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch." [13] It is likely that in the heat of such competitive activity this denunciation of proselytism was found a fitting expression. It is against Pharisees and scribes, to be sure, but these are representatives of Judaism.[14] Matt. 23:15 therefore may be taken as a general recognition of propaganda in and about Antioch.

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[7] Case, *Jesus,* 1927, p. 304: "The formidable array of charges against 'scribes and Pharisees' assembled in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew is typical of first-century Christianity's defiant answer to its stubborn opponents."

[8] Bruce, *Expositors' Greek Testament,* 1897, I, 281.

[9] Gal. 2:11-14.

[10] Josephus, *War* 7:3:3-4.

[11] Cf. especially Matt. 6:2, 5, 7-8, 16, 32.

[12] *War* 7:3:3.

[13] Acts 11:26.

We turn now to the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, to see whether there is reflected in the early second century any such activity on the part of the Jews. We note in the *Epistle to the Magnesians*[15] reference to the tendency of Christians who had been Jews to hold on to some of their old practices:

> Therefore, having become his disciples, let us learn to live according to Christianity. For whosoever is called by any other name than this is not of God. Lay aside therefore the old, the sour leaven, and be ye changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. . . . It is absurd to profess Christ Jesus and to Judaize. For Christianity did not believe in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity. If we still live according to Judaism, we acknowledge that we have not yet received grace.[16]

This passage shows us a Christian community drawing members from a Jewish community which has considerable vitality, and against which defense is necessary. A Christian must distinguish the names and the practices carefully. In the *Epistle to the Philadelphians* we find what looks like a reference to counter-propaganda. "But if anyone preach

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[14] Cf. Matt. 21:43-45: "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from *you* and given to a *nation* bringing forth the fruits thereof. . . . The *chief priests and Pharisees* perceived that he spoke of *them.*"

[15] Chaps. ix, x.

[16] *Mag.* 10 and 8.

Judaism to you, listen not to him; for it is better to hearken to Christianity from the circumcised than to Judaism from the uncircumcised."[17] Christianity and Judaism are thus sharply contrasted.[18] Even a Judaism which might be so inconsistent as not to demand circumcision is reprehensible. Ignatius is unwilling for Christians even to observe the Sabbath.[19] He does not want them to observe anything called by any other name than Christianity.[20] We are reminded of the passage in the *Didache* in which Christians are advised to avoid fasting on the same days as the "hypocrites" (obviously Jews).[21] The intent is to separate, and to make the separation as unmistakable as possible. One must avoid listening to Judaism, even if preached by one who has not followed it out to its logical conclusions. One must not be deceived as to the proper place of Judaism. It is not a higher phase of Christianity, as might be urged by the legalist; it has been superseded by Christianity. It is obvious here that we have active Judaism whose influence is felt in the Christian body. The flock must be protected against proselytism.

JOSEPHUS' STORY OF IZATES

It is not surprising that so many commentators from Wetstein down resort to Josephus' story of the conversion of Izates[22] in interpreting Matt. 23:15.

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[17] *Philad.* 6:1.

[18] Foakes-Jackson (*The Rise of Gentile Christianity*, 1927, p. 176): "Judaism is regarded by orthodox Christians as an entirely alien religion."

[19] *Mag.* 9.

[20] *Mag.* 10.

[21] *Didache* 8:1.

[22] Josephus, *Ant.* 20:2:2-4.

The story is a classic, full of interest from many points of view, but chiefly to us just now as evidence for the existence of propaganda. Izates[23] was the heir to the kingdom of Adiabene. Before his accession his father had placed him in the care of a neighboring monarch. While he was there, a Jewish merchant named Ananias came to the court; he won a number of the women to his Jewish teaching, and finally he won Izates. Later, after his return to his kingdom, the young man was influenced by another traveling Jew, Eleazar by name, who came from Galilee, and who led him to accept the law fully and be circumcised. His mother, Queen Helena, through the influence of still a third Jew proselytizer, was also won over,[24] and became a devoted follower of Judaism.[25] Here we have the activity recorded of three men spreading Judaism in near-by territories. One of them, it is said specifically, was from Galilee. Whence the others came is not told. Friedländer is sure that Ananias was a Dispersion Jew and that Eleazar was a Pharisee.[26] This is argued from two points of view. First, Ananias does not urge Izates to be circumcised. Even when Izates himself suggests it, but is somewhat fearful of consequences in the loyalty of his subjects when he takes up his kingdom, Ananias says that it is quite unnecessary, that he can serve God just as well without being circumcised, that such sincere worship is really the essential thing. This is a distinctly liberal point of view. On the other hand, Eleazar's insistence upon circumcision at any cost is legalistic and typically Pharisaical. Moreover Josephus' literary usage furnishes an interesting item of support for this view. He describes Eleazar as "scrupulous" in regard to the law. This word occurs in *Antiquities* 17:2:4. In *War* 2:8:14 it is used in describing the Pharisees as a class and in *Antiquities* 19:7:4 in describing a famous scribe. The following up of converts made by more liberal teachers reminds us of Paul's opponents and may indeed, as Friedländer thinks,[27] have inspired the remark we have studied above (Matt. 23:15). The story tells us, however, not only of the narrow party zeal of Eleazar but also of the activity of the other more liberal teacher Ananias, as well as that of the one who taught Helena. The last was evidently of the same liberal stamp, judging from the advice given by Helena to her son on the subject of circumcision.[28] Altogether, this is the fullest extant record of Jewish proselyte activity.

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[23] c.1-55 A.D., according to *Jewish Encyclopedia,* art. "Izates."

[24] *Ant.* 20:2:3.

[25] *Ant.* 20:2:5; 4:3.

[26] Friedländer, *Die Religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu,* 1905, p. 33.

LITERARY PROPAGANDA

Without question one of the most important pieces of evidence for Jewish propaganda appears in the remains of a literature definitely directed to that end. The purpose of a large portion of it is betrayed in its masquerading "under a heathen mask," to borrow Schürer's phrase.[29] It sought to make its acceptance surer in Gentile circles by obscuring its Jewish origin and by affecting names which had won a place in Gentile religious thought. One of the most important elements in this literature is the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles.*[30] In these the Sibyl, who had spoken her divine messages under various shrine names in Greece and Asia Minor, was made now to speak most favorably of the Jews, past, present and future. Judgments were expressed against the nations,[31] polytheism and idolatry[32] were denounced, and exhortation was made to men to become proselytes of Judaism, which was praised as pure and kindly and upright.[33] If Books IV and V as well as III are to be identified as generally Jewish, as Charles[34] and Schürer[35] think, we have this literature running from about the time of the Maccabean revolt down well into the second century, A.D.

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[27] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[28] *Ant.* 20:2:4.

[29] *Geschichte,* III, 553 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, p. 270)

Fragments of various other works of kindred character, with Gentile names attached, have been preserved.[36] Their claim to Gentile authorship reveals the reading public which they aspired to reach, and their contents reveal their aim as that of interesting the Gentile world in Judaism, its history, its monotheism, its laws, and the apocalyptic vision of the great future that lay ahead for it.

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[30] See Geffcken, *Oracula sibyllina,* 2 vols., 1902, for text. See also Lanchester, in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T.,* 1913, II, 368-406; Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 555-592* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 270-292; Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles, Books III-V* (S.P.C.K., 1918).

[31] III, 295-333.

[32] III, 8-35; 551-555; V, 75-85.

[33] IV, 162-170; 624-631; III, 545-550; also III, 218-247; V, 484-503.

[34] *Apoc. and Pseudep.* II, 372-374.

[35] *Op. cit.,* III, 579-584 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 284-288).

[36] E.g. fragments of *Pseudo-Hystaspes,* quoted from the Apocryphon of Paul by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6:5), and in Lactantius; various forged verses of Greek poets; a treatise on the Jews and one on Abraham by Pseudo-Hecatæus, perhaps based on a genuine work of Hecatæus of Abdera; a didactic poem full of Jewish legalistic ethics, falsely ascribed to Phocylides; besides others. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte* III, 592-608, 617-633 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 292-306; 313-320).

Not all pseudepigraphic propaganda was carried on under a heathen literary mask. The author of the Wisdom of Solomon appeals to the Gentiles in the character of the great king who had become traditionally associated with Jewish wisdom.[37] He appeals to men of Solomon's class:

> Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth (1:1); Hear, therefore, ye kings, and understand; learn, ye judges of the ends of the earth; give ear, ye that have dominion over much people, and make your boast in multitudes of nations; because your dominion was given you from the Lord (6:1-3a). For the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy, but mighty men shall be searched out mightily. For the Sovereign Lord will not refrain himself for any man's person, neither will he reverence greatness; because it is he that made both small and great, and alike he taketh thought for all (6:6-7). Unto you, therefore, O princes, are my words, that ye may learn wisdom and fall not from the right way (6:9).

The temptations of the rich and powerful are emphasized (2:6-11) and their doom declared (3:10). The avoidance of Hebrew names in the historical passages in chapters 10-12 leads us to suspect that Gentile readers are contemplated; the philosophic tenor of the whole work makes it especially congenial to such a circle; and the extended denunciations of idolatry are consistent with a purpose of propaganda (chapters 13-15).

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[37] Bertholet, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274; Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 505f. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 230 f.). The quotations are from the Revised Version Apocrypha, 1894.

Besides the indirect pseudepigraphic literary propaganda there was the direct approach by the literary method. Aristobulus (c. 160 B.C.) represents an attempt to reach the minds and hearts of the Gentile world by means of a philosophic interpretation of the Pentateuch. His prospective readers are revealed in the fact that his work is addressed to King Ptolemy Philometer himself.[38] His immediate aim is to present Judaism as the source of the peripatetic philosophy, and, by allegory, as consistent with current Hellenistic thought.[39]

The motive of the translation of the Septuagint is hardly a matter of dispute. It was done to meet the need of a more intelligible version of the Scriptures for Jews living abroad who had lost contact with old customs and the old language.[40] And no doubt it was also very useful as an instrument of propaganda. The Letter of Aristeas (c. 130-70 B.C.)[41] gives its attention to showing in what favor the Law stood with leading official figures in Alexandria and how they fostered the translation. This letter also is a part of that propaganda under a heathen mask. Such a work could have had no other motive than the increase of the prestige of the Law among Gentiles, in the only translation intelligible to them.[42] Granting, therefore, that the Septuagint was probably not expressly translated for Gentiles, in spite of Philo's insistence to that effect,[43] it was certainly before long conceived of as a very important instrument for the propagation of Judaism.

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[38] So Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1:22:150) and Eusebius (*Prep. Evang.* 9:6:6 and 8:9 end, 7:13 end) and in the text of Aristobulus himself (Euseb., *Prep. Evang.* 8:10:1, and 13:12:2).

[39] Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* 8:10.

[40] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 426 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, p. 161).

[41] So dated by Andrews, in Charles, *op. cit.,* II, 85f., for main body of book.

Philo's writings in general were not primarily intended for a Gentile public.[44] Yet his *Life of Moses*, and his works on the Commandments and the Laws, give the impression that he is instructing those who have a very limited knowledge of the central things in Judaism. He glorifies the life and work of the greatest of all philosophers, Moses, and explains and justifies the various laws. The tracts on the three Virtues, which follow, are especially directed toward Gentiles, as the style constantly shows, the last of them being an appeal from Moses, lover of the human race, to all men to leave the worship of the creatures for the Creator; the sovereignty of the mob for the well-ordered democracy; folly for wisdom, intemperance for temperance, injustice for righteousness, cowardice for courage.[45]

Philo's picture of the high priest represents him not merely as a Jewish priest but as a priest for humanity.

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[42] Cf. lines 28-32:310-312.

[43] *Life of Moses* 2:5, 7. See Juster, *op. cit.*, I, 253.

[44] They aim at "propaganda on both sides," Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 703 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, p. 368).

[45] *On Repentance* 1, 2.

> For the priests of other deities are accustomed to offer up prayers and sacrifices solely for their own relations and friends and fellow-citizens. But the High Priest of the Jews offers them up not only on behalf of the whole race of mankind, but also on behalf of the different parts of nature . . . looking upon the world as his country.[46]

Cultivating the Home Base

There is a reverse side of this literary propaganda which is of equal value for our purpose. I mean literature directed at interpreting to the home constituency Israel's mission, urging the moral support of the missionary enterprise and the proper reception of the converts when they appear. Even from the days of the post-exilic Isaiah expectation is awake of the coming of Gentiles to the worship of Jehovah. "The Lord Jehovah who gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him besides his own that are gathered." [47] God's blessing is promised upon the Israelite who keeps the law, upon the *ger* who has had no rights, upon the eunuch who has suffered the loss of hope for posterity, and finally upon the proselytes from all nations who come to love and serve the Lord. God's house is to be a house of prayer for all people. The later Psalms reflect more and more a universalistic attitude; the appeal to make God known far and wide frequently recurs.[48]

If Isaiah awakens expectation Jonah stirs responsibility. The nations are not only to be received when they come, they are to be sought. In dramatic form the author presents the coming of the divine call to the Jewish people to go into the heart of the heathen world and preach repentance; their unwillingness to carry out their mission; their final obedience under chastisement; their dismay at the success of their preaching; and their ungracious reception of those who have responded even to such an unwilling invitation. This book protests against the narrow nationalism that followed the Exile. It teaches a God who cares for the Gentiles, who takes no pleasure in the death of the wicked and wills that all men shall be saved. It sets forth Israel as His chosen instrument to make Him known. It is "cultivating the home base," to use modern missionary language; it is developing the spirit for propaganda.

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[46] *On Monarchy* 2:6.

[47] Isa. 56:8.

[48] Cf. Pss. 93-100, especially 96.

The Book of Ruth has a kindred motive. Appearing in the same general period, protesting against the same exclusive spirit, it presents Ruth the foreigner in a most attractive light. She is worthy of a place even in the ancestry of David. The Jew is being taught to appreciate the Gentile.

In Philo, resident in the Jewish community in Alexandria, we find an author not only of words directed toward the Gentile, bidding him come and worship the God of the Jews, but also of words directed toward the Jew, bidding him welcome the foreigner. The gist of the law regarding proselytes, he says,[49] is that having given up so much they should receive generously of cities, houses and friends; that

[49] *On Monarchy* 1:7.

they ought to have an equal share in all laws, privileges and immunities; and that they should not be spoken to harshly or unsympathetically.

In the rabbinic literature we meet with the expression "to bring under the wings of the Shekinah," implying not only the coming of the proselyte (e.g. Ruth 2:12), but also the outstretched hand of welcome.[50] Abraham, the founder of the race, is ideally pictured as busy in Haran gaining proselytes (Gen. 12:5);[51] and God himself is referred to as engaged in propagandist efforts.[52]

Christian and Pagan Reaction

But the missionary movement showed itself not only in appeals to the heathen and appeals to the home constituency. It was manifest in some sort of reaction on the part of opposing forces. We shall consider this under three headings: first, the Christian reaction; second, the popular heathen reaction; third, the governmental reaction.

We have already discussed the situation at Antioch in connection with our interpretation of Matt. 23:15.[53] We have further evidence of Christian consciousness of Jewish propaganda in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. The very form of the work, a dialectic against Judaism personified in Trypho, sheds abundant light upon the situation. In a philosophic spirit but in a thorough manner Justin takes up the various arguments of Judaism against Christianity and answers them. Lest we might be deceived into thinking that this is a personal encounter between him and Trypho only, he says, "Therefore, Trypho, I will proclaim to you and to those who wish to become proselytes the divine message which I heard from that man" (i.e. the man by the seashore who had first directed him to Christianity).[54] In the middle of the second century A.D. therefore, even after the Bar-Cochba revolt,[55] the two propagandas meet in Justin and Trypho, and the crowd is dramatically conceived of as standing by, ready to turn to either.

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[50] Hirsch, art. "Proselyte" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* X, 221; Lev. R. 2:8. Cf. Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* III, 927.

[51] Bere. R. 39, 48, 84.

[52] Cant. R. 5:16.

[53] See above pp. 44ff.

Still later, at the beginning of the third century A.D., Tertullian in Carthage regards Jewish propaganda as important enough to merit a work in rebuttal, *Adversus Iudæos*. He says that recently a public dispute had been held between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte.[56] The whole day was spent at it, and the crowd had its partisans for both sides. Thinking, however, that the issues had not been satisfactorily settled, Tertullian set forth a more reasoned answer to the Jews.

Jews did not figure largely in Gentile writings. We should not be surprised, therefore, if no record remained as to Gentile thought about Jewish proselytism. We are fortunate, therefore, in having a passage in one of Horace's Satires which is generally admitted to refer to this activity. It reads as follows:

> When I find a bit of leisure I trifle with my papers. This is one of those lesser frailties I

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[54] Chap. xxiii.

[55] Cf. chap. i.

[56] Chap. i.

> spoke of, and if you should make no allowance for it, then would a big band of poets come to my aid—for we are the big majority—and we, like the Jews, will compel you to make one of our throng.[57]

It is a striking testimony to the earnestness and vigor of the proselytizing efforts, the most ancient, and certainly the most direct, reference in Roman literature to such activity.[58] Of course it is in jest, but obviously the jest is playing about a currently well-known fact.

Jewish proselytism was no crime until Christianity came into political power and made it so. However, under the Gentile religions persons might be accused of atheism if they did not worship the gods. And it seems that any religious group was liable to expulsion from Rome if they endangered the public "morals"; i.e. tended to break down social solidarity by weakening devotion to the gods.[59] Referring to 139 B.C., the year Simon Maccabæus sent his embassy to Rome, appears this notice in the writings of Valerius Maximus: "The same [prætor Hispalus] caused the Jews, who had tried to infect the Roman morals with the worship of Jupiter Sabazius, to return to their homes."[60] The error of calling the Jewish God Jupiter Sabazius is easily explained from confusion with the customary transcription of the Hebrew Sabaoth. Was this propaganda carried on by people connected with the embassy of Simon? The fact that they were required to re-seek (repetere) their country leads to this suggestion.[61] The passage is interesting as the earliest notice of Jews in Rome,[62] as well as a relic of the earliest proselyting activity, which, if we are right in our interpretation, came from Palestine.[63] It is the earliest of all Gentile references to Jewish propaganda.

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[57] *Sat.* 1:4:138-143. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 244. English translation from Fairclough, *Horace's Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica,* 1926, pp. 59-61.

[58] Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 244f.: *"Allusion—la plus ancienne dans la litterature romain—à la rage de proselytisme qui distinguait alors les Juifs."*

[59] See above, p. 17, note 4. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28: "Each city, O Lælius, has its own peculiar religion; we have ours. . . . The religious ceremonies and observances of that people were very much at variance with the splendor of this empire, and the dignity of our name and the institutions of our ancestors."

The second instance of what seems like government notice of proselytizing activity took place in the reign of Tiberius, 19 A.D., and is variously recorded. Josephus says[64] that four Jews in Rome had collected, ostensibly for the Temple, many valuables from a pious rich woman proselyte, but had dishonestly taken them for their own use. As a consequence Tiberius expelled all Jews from Rome, and four thousand men of them were sent to Sardinia. Tacitus, however, says[65] that the banishment from Rome took place because of the danger of Jewish corruption of the populace with superstition, and that a large number of those already infected with that superstition were sent to the mines in Sardinia to die a miserable death. Suetonius refers to the same cause.[66]

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[60] 1:3:3, according to the epitome of Julius Paris. Nepotianus makes the passage read: "The same Hispalus expelled from the city the Jews who had tried to transfer their original rites to the Romans, and removed their private altars from public places" (Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 258-259).

[61] Hild, *"Les Juifs devant l'opinion romaine,"* in *Revue des études juives*, VIII (1884), pp. 6f.

[62] Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 59* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 234): "It may also be inferred from it that no Jews then dwelt permanently in Rome. The first settlements appear, however, to have taken place already in the first third of the first century B.C., for before the year 61, Jewish money was sent from Italy to Jerusalem (Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28). The Roman Jewish community attained increasing importance from the days of Pompey." The number of Jews present on the occasion of the trial of Flaccus makes it impossible to date the beginning of their colony with the triumph of Pompey. Note also Cicero's pun on Verres (Plutarch, *Cicero* 7), which is still earlier. Hild, in *REJ*, VIII, 10, note 24. Reinach (*Textes*, pp. 150f., note), however, adversely criticizes the authenticity of Plutarch's anecdote.

[63] Cf. Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Juster, *op. cit.*, I, 169f.

[64] *Ant.* 18:3:5.

The third official notice is very clear and definite. It is the Roman law against circumcision, first formulated under Hadrian as a blanket interdiction under the same penalty as for castration, later modified by Antoninus Pius so as to permit the rite to Jews but to Jews alone. The penalties (death, deportation, or confiscation of property) were still in force against non-Jews who permitted themselves to be circumcised and Jews who circumcised them. This takes legal cognizance of proselytism.[67] We must assume that it was a movement of size and importance, if this extreme action was necessary.

With the advent of Christian influence in the Roman state arose laws directed explicitly against proselytism.[68] It was a crime for a Christian to become a Jew, and it was a crime to lead any Christian into Judaism. There must then have been much proselytizing activity in the time of Theodosius to call forth such legislation. It was continued under Justinian.

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[65] *Annals* 2:85; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 295.

[66] *Tiberius* 36; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 328.

[67] Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 263-271.

[68] *Cod. Theod.* 16:7:3; 16:8:1, 19. Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 260.

The evidence for propaganda has taken us over a stretch of history from the embassy of Simon in 139 B.C. to the early Christian empire. It has indicated actual proselytizing activity in Rome, in Antioch, in the lands east of Palestine, in Alexandria, in Carthage. It has shown us as places of origin not only the Diaspora but also Palestinian Judaism. The spirit of it appears in Isaiah and Jonah, and Josephus' character Eleazar from Galilee is a real Jewish missionary. The imperial laws and the rabbinic traditions reflect its existence well into the fourth century. We may regard it as certain, therefore, that Judaism was, over an extended period, not only spreading spontaneously among the Gentiles but being actively promoted by zealous adherents.

CHAPTER IV

ORIGIN AND MOTIVE OF THE PROPAGANDA

Viewed from Palestine

Our study so far has shown us a widespread movement for the propagation of Judaism. What was the origin of this movement, and what were the motives that lay behind it?

We have noted [1] the sources of the word "proselyte" in the *ger,* who for centuries had been an element in Hebrew society. But propagandism is not a part of that conception. The *ger* constituted a local social problem which was practically solved after the Exile in the consolidation of the Palestinian community.[2] What the problems were in the Mesopotamian communities we have no means of knowing, save that the influences from that region upon Jerusalem were conservative and restrictive.[3] If early Jewish contacts here had led to conversions,[4] there is no evidence of any specific propagandist movement. The same may be said of the earliest

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[1] See above, pp. 20ff.

[2] See above, p. 21. There is no reference later than Tobit. The N.T. knows nothing of the problem. Cf. Bertholet, *op. cit.,* pp. 175-76; Kohler, *Jewish Theology,* 1918, p. 410.

[3] Revealed in the policies of Ezra and Nehemiah.

[4] Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums,* 2 *Aufl.,* 1911, III, 190) thinks that Ezra 2:59 refers to proselytes. Possibly, but quite as likely it refers to the mixed marriages (Ezra 9, Neh. 13).

Egyptian communities.[5] We may assume that Judaism went with the Diaspora and that it spread among the Gentiles everywhere, as all religions did. *Deliberate expansion of Judaism as a religion* into the Gentile world cannot be traced before the Maccabean period.

The Persian domination, under which the Return had taken place, gave way to the Macedonian; the Macedonian in its breakup left the little country of the Jews in the hands of the Ptolemies, who ruled Egypt. For some three centuries from the time of the return from Exile the people lived in comparative peace and quiet, under rulers who knew how to respect the religious rights of minorities. Then came Antiochus Ephiphanes, with his violent efforts at forcible Hellenization. The brave protest and defiance of Mattathias[6] was followed by the organized Jewish resistance under Judas and the establishment once more of an independent Judaism centering at the purged altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem.[7]

Great as these early victories were, the Maccabean leaders realized the limitations of their territory and of their resources. Judea in their hands and the faithless disposed of,[8] they pursued the policy of territorial expansion. Hellenization could not be prevented merely by a defense of Judea. Surrounding territories were bases of operation for the Syrian forces.[9] The loyalty of contiguous districts to the Jews was but intermittent and half-hearted.[10] They could not be left to pursue an independent course. Hence the many forays against them, and their final subjugation by the later Maccabean rulers. Hyrcanus, after his conquest of the Idumeans, who for so long had been a threat to the Jews, required them to be circumcised and to observe the Jewish law as conditions of their remaining in their own land.[11] A similar act is credited to Aristobulus in regard to the Itureans. Strabo says that he "obtained a part of the nation of the Itureans and bound them by the bond of circumcision." [12] Besides these two explicit accounts we have the implication elsewhere that this was a general policy. At the close of a list of places under Jewish control during the rule of Alexander Jannæus, at a time when the Maccabean kingdom enjoyed its widest extent,[13] we read that one place (Pella) was completely destroyed because its inhabitants would not exchange their religious rites for those of the Jews. We may assume, therefore, that forcible Judaization was a common method of consolidating the conquests of adjoining territories and thus of building a wall of defense about the Jewish state.

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[5] See Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century,* 1923.

[6] I Macc. 2; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:6.

[7] I Macc. 3-4; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:7.

[8] I Macc. 2:46-47; 3:5-6.

[9] I. Macc. 3:10, 40-41; 5:14-15; Josephus, *Ant.* 12:8:1.

[10] I. Macc. 9:23-31; Josephus, *Ant.* 13:1:1.

Such a political policy must be reckoned as religious expansion, and hence proselytism. It is on a wholesale scale,[14] and accomplished under duress; so it cannot be placed on a level with the later appeal to individuals. Yet I think it will shed some light upon the question of motives if we picture clearly to ourselves the little Jewish state facing the hostile Syrian power, fighting for the preservation of its ancient religious practices, and later also for its newly gained independence; learning from experience that mere defense could not be long maintained against such odds; and concluding finally that the only successful method of warfare was counter-conquest and cultural assimilation.

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[11] Josephus, *Ant.* 13:9:1.

[12] Josephus, *Ant.* 13:11:3.

[13] Josephus, *Ant.* 13:15:4.

[14] A striking case of individual conversion under duress is that of the Roman general Metilius, whose men, having surrendered and given up their arms, were murdered; he himself was saved on condition of being circumcised. Josephus, *War* 2:17:10.

A development of the same motive is evident in the sending of the embassies to Rome by Judas,[15] Jonathan,[16] and Simon.[17] Judea's best defense against a menacing Gentile world seemed to lie in winning as a friend out of the midst of it this rising western power which was inevitably to clash with the Greek rule in Syria. Moreover, as the expansion of Jewish power into contiguous lands was followed by attempted religious assimilation, so it was in the case of the Roman alliance. For certainly it is a most striking coincidence that the time of the first charge of proselytism brought against the Jews in Rome—indeed the first time we can be sure of definite proselytizing activity anywhere—was in the year of the embassy of Simon, 139 B.C.[18] Certain Jews were accused of attempting to corrupt Roman customs with their cult, and as a penalty were ordered home (*repetere domos suas coegit*). The particular form of the expression might imply temporary residence, which together with the coincidence of the date has suggested the idea that the propaganda was carried on by members of Simon's party or by Jews in some way connected with his mission.[19] What could be more natural in the circumstances? How better could an ally be firmly bound than by the religious bond? How influential a class of Romans these Jewish propagandists reached we do not know. The version of Nepotianus [20] mentions the removing of "private altars from the public places," as part of the action taken against the Jews. The highly significant item in the whole episode is that here proselytism emerges as a policy of defense, and we may judge from the reaction in Rome that it was in a considerable measure successful.

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[15] I Macc. 8:17-32; *Ant.* 12:10:6.
[16] I Macc. 12:1-3; *Ant.* 13:5:8.
[17] I Macc. 14:24; *Ant.* 13:7:3.
[18] See above, p. 57f.

VIEWED FROM THE DIASPORA

The position of the Jewish state in the Hellenized Mediterranean area has a close parallel in the position of every group of Jews in the Diaspora. They were found almost everywhere, to be sure, as Strabo,[21] Philo,[22] and Josephus [23] tell us, but they were everywhere a minority. They were constantly on the defensive.[24] The Jews were resident among Gentiles only by special privilege, since their practices contravened the laws of every community where they lived. There was constant occasion of friction. Such groups, living precariously in a foreign land, had to build up a defense. First, they must bind together their group as closely as possible to resist the foreign influences. Second, if they could manage to draw into their circle an influential patron, this was an important protection. Third, they could draw about them an interested group of Gentiles who had sympathy with their religion and customs, and who would be able to soften the shock of the inevitable clashes between the Gentile and the Jewish communities and interests.

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[19] Schürer, *Geschichte*, III, 58f. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 233f.). Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[20] See above, p. 58, note 60.

[21] In Josephus, *Ant.* 14:7:2.

[22] *Against Flaccus* 7; *Address to Caius* 36.

[23] *War* 2:16:4; 7:3:3.

[24] Ps. Phocylides: "Let strangers receive equal honor among the citizens, for we all have to endure uncertain life abroad."

A great deal of our knowledge of proselytism fits into this pattern. For instance, there is Poppæa, the mistress of Nero. She is on friendly terms with the Jews, receives Josephus, who comes as a young man to plead the cause of certain priests, and sees that his mission is successful.[25] Her influence prevailed on behalf of the Jews against the protests of Agrippa and Festus, so Josephus says, in preserving the wall which the Jews had built to screen the Temple against the curious gazers from Agrippa's palace. She is called God-fearer.[26] Fulvia was a woman of wealth and rank, a proselyte in Rome.[27] Dio Cassius presents Flavius Clemens, nephew of Diocletian and prospective emperor, as a proselyte.[28] At Thessalonica, we are told, Paul found some "principal women" associated with the synagogue.[29] At Iconium the Jews started the persecution against Paul and Barnabas by using their influence with certain well-to-do women and leading men of the town.[30] At Corinth a prominent teacher was associated with the synagogue.[31] In keeping with these notes from

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[25] Josephus, *Life* 3.
[26] *Ant.* 20:8:11.
[27] *Ant.* 18:3:5.
[28] *History* 67:14; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 195f.
[29] Acts 17:4.
[30] Acts 13:50.
[31] Acts 18:7.

Acts, we find in the Gospel of Luke mention of a centurion, stationed at Capernaum, who is gratefully commended to Jesus by the Jews because he had built them a synagogue.[32] Josephus, moreover, informs us that no small factor in producing the glory of the Temple was the liberal gifts of the Gentiles.[33] Bar-Jesus, the Jewish exorcist in the island of Paphos, was cultivating the favor of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul, who was evidently a religious-minded man, when Paul appeared as a rival.[34] Josephus naturally tells of proselytes who were socially influential. He makes much of Izates and his mother, who proved to be valuable additions to Judaism, politically, economically, and socially.[35] Josephus' purpose of exalting Judaism, as well as his own personal vanity, are best served by choosing the prominent figures among the proselytes. Similarly Luke's purpose is best served by exalting the status of the social group from which Christianity sprang. Each has an apologetic purpose, to aid proselytizing effort in winning the socially influential. A similar motive appears also in the rabbinic accounts of proselytes. The traditions of the emperor Antoninus,[36] of the Roman senator who saved the Jews from destruction,[37] of the rich Roman woman,[38] show in what direction the mind of the nation turned. If these traditions do not represent actual proselytes they give us the ideal proselyte from the point of view of their time. It is noteworthy also that the Book of Esther reaches its happy ending in the circumcision of great numbers of the enemies of the Jews. Proselytism became Judaism's sure and final defense.

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[32] Luke 7:3-5.

[33] *Ant.* 14:7:2.

[34] Acts 13:6ff.

[35] *Ant.* 20:2:3-4.

[36] See above, p. 38f.

[37] See above, pp. 34, 38.

[38] Rosh Hashshana 17; Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

PROPAGANDA AND APOLOGETIC

The peculiar customs of worship and life among the Jews kept them constantly on the defensive. They were misunderstood by the vast majority and deliberately misrepresented by some. A flood of caricature and libel against the Jews poured over the ancient world. Tacitus has gathered together a considerable amount.[39] Josephus, in his treatise *Against Apion,* has assembled a mass of it from all quarters, intending to answer and so finally to dispose of it. The racial origin of the Jews and their antiquity were brought into question, their religious attitude was summed up in atheism, their social attitude in misanthropy, and their political attitude in disloyalty. This situation accounts for the fact that "a large share of the entire Græco-Jewish literature subserves apologetic purposes."[40] The impulse to self-respect, the desire to be understood, the fear of economic and social disadvantage, all led the Jews to a literary campaign of self-defense. The aim was to show the antiquity of Judaism, its honorable position as the source of the philosophies of the Hellenistic world, the superiority of monotheism, the reasonableness and even surpassing greatness of many of the social provisions of the Mosaic law.[41] As the

[39] *History* 5:2-4; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 301-306.

[40] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 528 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, p. 248).

[41] In general, see Josephus, *Against Apion;* Philo, *On Circumcision, On Monarchy, On Coveting, On Humanity, On the Number Seven.*

aim of the Gentile writers was by ridicule to break down the wall of separation and to wipe out Jewish distinctions, the aim of the apologists was to take away their weapons and to repair the breaches in the wall—and then to extend that wall to take in their enemies and all men.

Jewish writers may be said to have used three literary types in meeting their Gentile foes; namely, apologetic, polemic and propaganda. In apologetic they answered the criticism, strove to remove the element of misunderstanding, and defended their own position. In polemic they carried the war over into the enemy's country and made a counter-attack on his customs and beliefs. In propaganda they put their own case positively before the Gentile and sought to win him over to their camp. It is not always possible to draw sharp lines between these; they frequently merge. Yet possibly it is not straining the point to find in these three literary types parallels to the three stages in the Maccabean warfare which I have noted above.[42] First, there was the getting into a strategic position as quickly as possible and defending themselves; then there was the carrying of the campaign out beyond their borders; then, finally, there was the attempted permanent conquest and assimilation. From this point of view proselytism appears as the crowning stage in the defense against Hellenism.

This is not so strange as it might at first seem. The defense of Judaism was necessarily an argument for it. The idealistic Judaism which Josephus and Philo presented in the face of Gentile attack could not but have an appeal to the religious-minded of the age.

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[42] See above, pp. 62ff.

The charge of atheism was the Gentile interpretation of the Jews' exclusive monotheism. Jews had nothing to do with the local religious ceremonies of the pagan communities in which they lived. The absence of images in their own worship made it seem that they had no religion at all.[43] Jewish defense against this charge involved the interpretation and support of the whole conception of monotheism, and with it a denunciation of polytheism and idolatry. It was inevitable that this should eventuate in propaganda. Contempt and denunciation of polytheism imply folly or guilt on the part of the Gentiles in not worshiping with Jews. It was the consciousness of superior religious knowledge in the presence of religious ignorance and failure that inspired their persistent campaign. The nation that knew God had "received the offices of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of the whole human race." [44] They were to be "the guides of life to all mankind." [45] Jews could not defend their faith without offering it to these others. Completely to convince meant completely to convert; completely to conquer meant completely to assimilate.

So the inevitable defense was propagation. By making their God the only God the Jews made him the God of all men. "The belief that the true religion must in the end be the universal religion of itself made Judaism a missionary religion."[46] As the glory of the nation cannot be complete until all nations are paying tribute at Jerusalem,[47] so the glory of Jehovah demands the allegiance of all, the bringing in of the day when "the Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be one, and his name one."[48]

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[43] Cf. Juvenal, 14:97: *"Nihil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant"* (Reinach, *Textes*, p. 292).

[44] Philo, *On Abraham* 19; cf. also *Life of Moses* 1:27.

[45] *Sibylline Oracles* 3:195f.

The charge of misanthropy, made against the Jews, could be met only by its repudiation. Josephus, answering with a *tu quoque* the charge of narrow exclusiveness,[49] also undertakes to show that Judaism is, on the contrary, broad and humane, willing to receive any who come in the right spirit.[50] Further he shows that the attack against Jewish religious practices falls down because the Gentiles far and wide are following them, and the accusers are put in the position of condemning mankind in general.[51] The defense here really tends to give propaganda a stronger impulse, conscious that without it Judaism will stand convicted on one of the chief counts in the indictment. Gentile converts become, so to speak, Exhibit A in the defense. Where the Judaism of Philo stands in this matter appears clearly when we hear him condemn the Mysteries for shutting themselves up to a few and not presenting their truth in the market place, so that it might benefit all men, and "so that every one might without hindrance partake of a better and more fortunate life; for envy is never found in conjunction with virtue." [52]

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[46] Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, 1927, I, 229. Cf. also Paulsen, *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, 1895, p. 286: *"Es liegt in Wesen der monotheistischen Religion dass sie alle den Trieb haben zur international Propaganda"* (Quoted by Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

[47] Isa. 60.

[48] Zech. 14:9.

[49] *Against Apion* 2:37.

[50] *Against Apion* 2:29-30.

[51] *Ibid.* 2:40.

We have seen Judaism making its approach to the Gentiles in a mood of self-defense by counter-conquest. This was consistent with the prophetic expectations of the exilic and post-exilic periods. Israel in her new glory was to draw strength from the strength of the nations. When she was most conscious of her own humiliation she pictured the Gentiles humbled under her yoke. As they had ground her under their heel, so they should be destroyed in the great destruction of God's judgment. As their gods had boasted against Jehovah, so should Jehovah conquer them all. The glorious future is not often viewed as a glorious period for the Gentiles. It is a glorious period for Israel, when sufferings and long disappointment will find recompense in great glory and power and universal acclaim.[53]

Yet the spirit is not always hard. The Book of Jonah, in particular, protests against vindictiveness. And the subjection of the Gentiles is sometimes pictured as a religious conquest, resulting in great spiritual blessing for the conquered (Isa. 42:6; 49:6; Tob. 14:6; *I En.* 48:6; *Sib. Or.* 4:166; 3:762-775). But we are not allowed to forget that the victory belongs to Israel and to her God. The submission of the Gentiles is a phase of her future glory.[54]

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[52] *On Those Sacrificing* 12.

[53] Isa. 60.

[54] Porter, in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible,* IV, 136: "Proselytism was a sort of conquest or subjugation, for the benefit of the conquerors, not of the conquered."

It is difficult to balance the motives of glory for God and for Israel with those of mercy for the Gentiles. The former far predominates. The last chapters of Isaiah are full of it, yet the altruistic motive also finds a place. In 52:13-53:12 Israel's suffering is for the sake of the nations. In chapter 56 the stranger is singled out for special blessing. We find little of this altruistic spirit in the centuries immediately following.[55] It rises to its highest pitch in the Old Testament in the Book of Jonah, where God's mercy to the Gentiles is portrayed most dramatically and Israel's attitude is branded as selfish and cruel. This generous attitude toward the Gentiles appears as an expectation in the Book of Tobit. "And all the nations which are in the whole earth, all shall turn and fear God truly, and all shall leave their idols who err after their false error. And they shall bless the everlasting God in righteousness" (14:6). This is in contrast with the general attitude of apocalyptic. According to *IV Ezra* the nations will suffer crushing defeat and annihilation (13:33-34, 49). According to the Apocalypse of *Baruch* (72:2, 3, 4-6) "some of them he will spare and some of them he will slay." [56] The *Psalms of Solomon* put them all under the yoke of the Messianic king to serve him (17:32). The Book of Jubilees makes no provision for the salvation of the Gentiles, but identifies them with "sinners" (23:24; 24:28-30) who are to meet the judgment of God.

The vision of the future may be summed up in the two words "glory" and "subjugation." The means for the attainment of this end were differently seen by different parties. There was the strictly legalistic party, which believed that God dealt with Israel on the basis of the law; that Israel's sole aim should be the keeping of that law, trusting all else to God. He would bring about the glory for the nation. He would judge Gentiles and save such as would serve Him. Then there was the Zealot, impatient of the long delayed realization of the ideal, restless under foreign political domination. He believed that an active policy was consistent with and often demanded by piety. Apocalyptic visions only inspired him to greater eagerness for their fulfillment. He it was who precipitated the final fatal conflicts.

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[55] Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 229; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[56] The same conception appears in *I En.* 90:18, 30. The persecutors of Israel are destroyed but those who survive, i.e. those who do not participate in their persecution, become submissive.

Akin to the Zealot in spirit was the proselytist. He also saw Israel's glory in terms of conquest. Indeed the Zealot was often a proselytist of the ruder sort, such as carried out the forcible assimilation of many.[57] But in the Diaspora the proselytist knew too well the political and military power with which he had to deal. His ideals were metamorphosed to suit his situation. He was a nationalist, just as every Jew was. Jerusalem was to be the center of the world in the new age. But he saw that the appeal Judaism made to the individual was a powerful force, and that peaceful penetration could be effective in the hastening of the kingdom of God. Hence in a world none too friendly to Judaism he believed that the best defense was counter-conquest through the winning of proselytes. To the legalists this was not welcome. For the bringing in of new recruits meant lowering the standard of fulfillment of the law.[58] Hence we find the Judaizers pursuing Paul, and Eleazar following up Ananias at the court of Izates, to perfect their work for legalism. To the revolutionary-minded, proselytism threatened a lowering morale. But to certain groups of the Diaspora all who sought the law were trophies for Israel.

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[57] Josephus, *Life* 23, 31.

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[58] Nid. 13b; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* III, 930.

CHAPTER V

METHOD OF THE PROPAGANDA

The Synagogue

The survey we have so far made shows that propaganda was chiefly, though not exclusively, a Diaspora phenomenon.[1] Indeed, the Dispersion itself was no doubt its inspiration, and conditions incidental to residence abroad were fundamental to its wide success. This was recognized in the saying of R. Eleazar: "God dispersed the Israelites among the Gentiles in order that proselytes might be joined to them."[2] Still earlier, it is implied in the words of the Apocalypse of *Baruch* (1:4), "I will scatter this people among the Gentiles, that they may do good to the Gentiles." Not only was the Diaspora widely extended, from Babylon to Spain, but it was strategically located. Herzfeld, in his study of Jewish settlements in the Hellenistic period, found records of fifty-two settlements in towns three-fourths of which were wealthy commercial centers.[3] In these circumstances, even without great enthusiasm or efficient method, some fruitage in such an eclectic age could scarcely be avoided. Philo says that it was "the daily uninterrupted respect shown them by those to whom they had been given" that caused the widespread respect on the part of Gentiles for Jewish laws.[4]

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[1] See chap. iii.

[2] Pesachim 87b, c. 270 A.D. Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 927.

[3] *Handelsgeschichte der Juden des Altertums,* 1879, p. 204; cf. Philo, *Against Flaccus* 7: "They frequent all the most prosperous and fertile countries of Europe and Asia."

The center of the life of the Jews in their local residence abroad was always the synagogue. Acts repeatedly relates how Paul went to the synagogues in the towns which he visited and first preached there his gospel.[5] Whether or not the writer of Acts had a reliable tradition about Paul[6] we cannot doubt that he was acquainted with conditions in the cities of Asia Minor and Greece, and with synagogue customs.[7] He reports the decision of the Council of Jerusalem as based upon the assumption that the law of Moses is read "in every city."[8] Philo informs us that there are "thousands of houses of instruction in all the towns," in which people assemble in order and silence while the learned explain the Scriptures.[9] He speaks of a considerable number of them in Alexandria.[10] Acts indicates a number of synagogues in Damascus[11] and in Salamis,[12] Inscriptions make it clear that there were numerous synagogues in Rome.[13] Pagan writers also mention them.[14] Josephus mentions synagogues in Cæsarea,[15] in Dora,[16] and in Antioch.[17] Later tradition mentions thirteen synagogues in Tiberias, synagogues of Babylonian Jews in Sepphoris and in Tiberias, and a synagogue of the Roman Jews in Machoza on the Tigris.[18]

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[4] *Life of Moses* 2:5.

[5] Acts 13:5, 14ff.; 14:1; 16:13; 17:1f., 10, 17; 18:4, 19.

[6] Wendland (*Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 1912, pp. 209f.) contests the historicity of the policy ascribed to Paul by Luke.

[7] Cf. Jesus in synagogue, in Luke 4; Gentiles building synagogues, Luke 7:3-5, confirmed by many inscriptions.

[8] Acts 15:21.

[9] *De Septenario* 6 (Second Festival).

[10] *Ad Caium* 20, "A great many in every section of the city."

[11] Acts 9:20.

[12] Acts 13:5.

[13] *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* 9902-9909, 6447; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* 29756; Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 81ff.* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, pp.

The synagogue is important not only as an institution preserving the unity and fidelity of the Jews themselves but as an outpost advertising Judaism by its very presence, piquing the curiosity of a restless age, inviting to the worship of the One God and to a knowledge of the law of Moses.

We need think of no linguistic obstacle in the way of the synagogue influence. In their services, throughout the Mediterranean basin, the Greek language was in use. A study of inscriptions has led to the conclusion that Hebrew was not used even on gravestones, where it would be most expected, until about the sixth century A.D., when it began gradually to appear.[19] The Mishna specifies only that in the priestly benediction and a few special passages

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247f.; Oehler, in *Monatschrift,* LIII (1909), 446-447; N. Müller, *Jüd. Katakombe zu Rom,* 1919, Nos. 2, 3, 14, 25, 50, 106-111, 174, 175.

[14] E.g. Juvenal, *Sat.* 3:296; Ovid, *Ars Amat.,* 1:75; cf. below, p. 80 and note 29.

[15] *War* 2:14:4-5.

[16] *Ant.* 19:6:3.

[17] *War* 7:3:3; *Life* 54.

[18] Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* II, 662f.

[19] The inscriptions found at Venosa, Italy (6th century), were, some of them, in Greek or Latin; some of them in Greek or Latin with Hebrew postscript; and some wholly in Hebrew. Later, Hebrew became universal. Cf. Schürer, in *Theol. Literaturzeitung,* 1880, pp. 485f.; *Geschichte,* III, 140ff. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, pp. 283f.); Oehler, in *Monatschrift,* LIII (1909), 293.

of Scripture must the Hebrew be used.[20] That the Greek Scriptures were the ones used in the Diaspora synagogues appears from several considerations. In the first place Paul's use of the Septuagint leads to that conclusion.[21] Justin says the Septuagint is "in the possession of all Jews throughout the world; but they, though they read, do not understand." [22] In the *Dialogue with Trypho* Justin implies the Jewish use of the Septuagint.[23] Tertullian is even more explicit: "The Jews too read them publicly. Under a tribute-liberty, they are in the habit of going to hear them every Sabbath." [24] The *Cohortatio ad Græcos,* of the third century A.D., argues that the presence in the synagogue of the same books that the Christians appeal to is a divine dispensation.[25] Paul's ready use of Greek among his churches is sufficient proof that this was the language of instruction. Cleomenes, in describing Epicurus' unidiomatic speech, likens it to the speech one hears in the synagogue.[26] A curse published by Jews in Delos upon the murderers of two children reflects the Septuagint usage.[27]

Granting that the synagogue service was in Greek, the manifest purpose of this was for the understanding of the Jews, for they had lost touch with the original Hebrew tongue. The question remains, Did the service reach the Gentiles? Were they present and welcome?

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[20] Sota 7:1.

[21] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 142 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 285).

[22] *Apol.* 1:31.

[23] Chap. lxxii.

[24] *Apologeticus* 18.

[25] Chap. xiii.

[26] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 142, n. 25*.

[27] Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 57*.

I do not know of any specific passage in ancient Jewish literature inviting or welcoming the Gentile to the synagogue service. However, there can be no doubt that the Gentiles did attend. Much of Paul's success in preaching Christianity, according to Acts, was due to the Gentiles being present to hear him. They are specifically mentioned as present in several places,[28] and proving more attentive and responsive than the Jews. Such descriptions would not have been written and generally accepted unless it had been a well-known custom for Gentiles to attend. Ovid's and Juvenal's remarks about the synagogue as a trysting place [29] imply the possibility of attendance on the part of the Gentiles, as curious onlookers or as earnest seekers for truth.

Closely connected with the synagogue was the emancipation of slaves, according to the legal notices of the first century A.D. found in the Crimea. The transaction took place in the synagogue and the synagogue was witness and guarantor. A condition in the emancipation notice is to the effect that the slave's freedom depends upon faithful adherence to, and attendance upon the services of, the synagogue. This gives the impression that possibly the freedom was granted as a means to proselytism.[30]

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[28] See especially Acts 13:42, 44, 48; 14:1; 18:4.

[29] Juvenal, *Sat.* 3:296: "In what house of prayer shall I meet you?" (Reinach, *Textes,* p. 290). Ovid, *Ars Amat,* 1:75: (In seeking a mistress) "Don't pass by the place where Venus mourns Adonis or where the Syrian Jew performs his rites every seventh day" (Reinach, *Textes,* p. 248).

[30] Schürer, *"Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche,"* in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften,* 1897, pp. 200-206; esp. 203.

PROPAGANDIST LITERATURE

But of course it was only a limited number of Gentiles who ever attended the synagogue services. To make a wider impression the indifferent or even the hostile must be reached. These, who would not be seen in the synagogue, might be influenced by the written word. The Christian literary propaganda was preceded by a Jewish literary propaganda, which may be summed up in the words of Pseudo-Justin: "Come, be instructed, and become as I." [31]

In Alexandria centered a literary propaganda of which we have interesting remains. The *Letter of Aristeas,* representing the Septuagint as created there at the instigation of Gentiles, argues, under an assumed Gentile name and hence for Gentiles, for the unique value of the Old Testament. The Greek translation of the Old Testament was of use in making the Gentiles acquainted with Jewish religion long before the impetus of the Christian movement made it common property far and wide in the Roman world. Indeed its early prevalence in Gentile Christian circles can hardly be explained except on this assumption. The Jewish Scripture in the hands of the Gentiles was such a matter of course to Josephus that he represents Cyrus as engaged in reading the prophecy of Isaiah.[32] No doubt Luke's picture of the eunuch returning home from a trip to Jerusalem,[33] reading a roll of the prophets, is drawn from what he had frequently seen. Philo thinks the Greek translation of the Old Testament a most admirable thing and serviceable in the leading of Gentiles to the Jewish law.[34] Avoidance of anthropomorphisms was sometimes resorted to for the sake of the philosophical taste of the Gentile. The Talmud says that thirteen passages were altered for the sake of King Ptolemy.[35] Palestinian Judaism also saw it as especially adapted for carrying the truth to the Gentiles.[36] Next to the synagogue in foreign lands no doubt the Septuagint was the most valuable means of propaganda.

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[31] *Oratio ad Græcos* 5.

[32] *Ant.* 11:1:2.

[33] Acts 8:27f.

We have discussed above[37] the pseudepigraphic literature as in itself evidence that propaganda existed. The motive of this literature is evident. As a method its value depended in part upon the prestige that its pseudonymous character gave it. The Jews chose wisely, taking the names of the great poets and historians and philosophers, and even adapting the Sibyl, the most characteristic religious feature of the age, to the Jewish cause. The detail of the method is various. For example, Aristeas obviously exalts the law and also the nation in the story which he tells of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Septuagint translation. The great respect shown by Ptolemy to the Scriptures, to the sages from Jerusalem, and to the Jewish people has a strong popular appeal. Also his relation of the miraculous circumstances of the translation leading to its actual perfection has its obvious purpose. "A directly missionary purpose does not come forward in this author," says Schürer.[38] But the exaltation of the law and of Jewish Wisdom could work to no other end. Similarly the assertions made by Jewish writers on currently accredited Gentile authority that Jewish religious conceptions were correct, that God is One, that idolatry is to be renounced, and the Sabbath to be revered, were body blows at the old religions.[39] The hexameters of Philo, the Jewish epic poet, and the tragedies of Ezechiel show us how Jews of the first century B.C., appropriated Gentile literary form to win their contemporaries. Bentwich asks whether there might not have been even the adaptation of the theater.[40] But probably Ezechiel wrote for a reading public.

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[34] *Life of Moses* 2:5.

[35] Meg. 71d.

[36] Sota 7:1; Meg. 1:9; "Greek is the best of all languages for the translation of the Law," according to Simon b. Gamaliel.

[37] See above, pp. 48ff.

[38] *Geschichte,* III, 554 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, p. 271).

One of the books of this movement which is most obviously to be classed as missionary literature is the book of the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles.* It is in part an adaptation of apocalyptic for Gentile consumption, taking the poetic form of the heathen sibyl but with a message typically Jewish. Woes are pronounced upon the nations for their polytheism, idolatry, and moral depravity. A direct appeal is made to them to turn to the true God, and share the glorious future which belongs to those who serve him. There can be no doubt of the mission of this book. That it was fitted to its task is shown by the fact that it continued to be found valuable to Christians also in their attempts to win the Gentiles. Justin refers to it in his *Apology;* Clement of Alexandria and Lactantius make frequent use of it.

[39] Cf. collection of these references (many forged, in *Pseudo-Hecatæus,* and used extensively by early Christian apologists) in Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 597ff. (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 297ff.).

[40] *Hellenism,* 1919, pp. 136f.

Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Græcos* makes its final extended appeal on the basis of the *Sibylline Oracles.* The work was interpolated and expanded to make it even more useful, so that it has become predominantly Christian in parts. With the Septuagint the Christian church inherited the Sibylline Books as a proved tool for its inherited task, the conversion of the world.

It is hard to distinguish in the works of Philo between those writings which have Jews and those which have Gentiles in mind.[41] This fact perhaps is a testimony to the degree to which some of the Jews of Alexandria were Hellenized. The Greek point of view readily appealed to them also. Philo's philosophic approach meets the thought of his day. There is little that is nationalistic or sectarian. He uses broad humanistic, universalistic terms. He brings out Moses as a philosophical leader and explains his laws as applying to all men. The knowledge of the Mosaic law had "reached over the whole world," [42] though "those who really and truly understand it are not many." Anyone who takes the pains to examine these laws, he says in true propagandistic spirit,[43] "will find them all aiming at the harmony of the universe and corresponding to the law of eternal nature." [44] Of course this is only saying that the Jewish religion is a philosophy, or rather the philosophy. Philosophy, he says, is the "royal road," which Moses identifies with the word of God,[45] and the synagogue meeting is for the study of philosophy.[46] Back of all the Greek philosophers he sees standing the great figure of Moses, the true teacher of mankind, the teacher of philosophers,[47] one whose wisdom is divine.[48] In his treatise on Monarchy, which is really a treatise on monotheism, he argues from design in true Stoic fashion (1:4): God is like the artist, the weaver, the shipbuilder, the architect, the ruler. Evidences of His activity are all about us. The Ten Commandments were issued by God "not that He himself has any need to be honored," but "because He has wished to lead the race of mankind . . . into a road from which they should not stray, that so, by following nature, it might find the best end of all things, namely the knowledge of the true and living God." [49] Sacrifice is not condemned, but it is not essential.[50] Racial relations are superseded by ethical. Kinship is not measured by blood alone, when Truth is the judge, but by likeness of conduct and by the pursuit of the same object." [51] His condemnation of the Mysteries reveals his ideal for Judaism. He condemns them because they are exclusive, reserving things which they think are "virtuous and honorable and profitable" for the few, rather than bringing them down "into the middle of the market place." [52] This is what he has tried to make of Judaism—an affair of the market place and of the forum, a philosophy which responded to the needs of man.

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[41] Schürer, in his classification of Philo's works is less dogmatic in his 4th edition than in his 2nd edition. Compare 4th ed., III, 659, 675 and 2nd ed.; Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. III, pp. 338, 348f.

[42] *Life of Moses* 1:1.

[43] G. Friedländer (*Hellenism and Christianity,* 1912), says that Philo favors the view that the Septuagint was made for the use of missionaries sent out by the Jews.

[44] *Life of Moses* 2:10.

Josephus' writings deal mainly with the political affairs of the Jewish nation, but in the last part of the reply to Apion he presents Judaism as the religion of the Creator and God of all men,[53] and the world as gradually turning toward it.[54] His propagandist spirit comes out quite clearly in the preface to his *Antiquities,* where he says: "And now I exhort all those who peruse these books to apply their minds to God."

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[45] *Posterity of Cain* 30.

[46] *Life of Moses* 3:27.

[47] *Virtuous Free* 8, etc.

[48] *Life of Moses* 1:5-6.

[49] *On the Ten Commandments* 16.

[50] *Life of Moses* 3:10.

[51] *On Nobility* 6.

[52] *On Those Sacrificing* 12.

THE MISSIONARY

One of early Christianity's most striking characteristics was its apostles, men sent out to preach its message and to organize the developing movement. The same is true of missionary movements among Christians in the ages since. Did Judaism also, in its proselytizing period, develop an apostolate, i.e. traveling representatives devoted to carrying on its propaganda? [55]

It has been pointed out that there are prototypes of such activity in II Chronicles, as well as in II Maccabees. In the former it is stated that Jehoshaphat sent out "princes" and "Levites" with the law of the Lord to teach in the cities of Judah.[56] The story has no parallel in the Books of the Kings, and its reference to the Book of the Law suggests post-Deuteronomic tradition.[57] It is quite conceivable that it represents a practice which grew up after the return from the Exile. A dominant interest was the consolidation of the new community and the winning from neighboring tribes of such as were friendly to the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem.[58] The passage from II Maccabees represents delegates being sent from Jerusalem to the Jews resident in Alexandria, advising them of the time of the Feast of Tabernacles.[59] A similar notice is found in Esther, where the Feast of Purim is established and messages are sent to inform the communities.[60] It is assumed that these messages are borne by official representatives, who add the weight of their personal influence among a people widely scattered from the religious center.

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[53] *Against Apion* 2:23-24.

[54] *Ibid.* 2:40.

[55] On the Jewish apostolate, see Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 119-120* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 269); Harnack, *Mission u. Ausbreitung,* 4th ed., 1924, I, 340-344 (Eng. trans. I, 327-331); Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 380f., 388-390, 405; Schütz, *Apostel u. Jünger,* 1921, pp. 71-78; Büchler, "Apostole, Apostoli," in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* II, 20f.; Krauss, "Die jüdische Apostel," in *Jewish Quarterly Review,* XVII (1905), 370-383; Vogelstein, *"Die Entstehung u. die Erwicklung des Apostolats des Judentums,"* in *Monatschrift für Gesch, u. Wiss. des Judentums,* XLIX (1905), 427-449.

[56] II Chron. 17:7-9.

From Philo and Josephus we learn of the practice of sending messengers every year from the different centers of the Diaspora to take the temple tax to Jerusalem.[61] These correspond to the men chosen to go with Paul from his churches to carry up to Jerusalem the offering for the Judean Christians.[62] We have later testimony that the Jewish collection was regularly made by officials sent out from Jerusalem. Epiphanius, himself a Jew by birth, tells of a certain Joseph who came to Cilicia with letters and proceeded to levy tithes and first fruits. He seemed to be vested with very broad powers, for he deposed many chiefs of synagogues, priests, and ministers, and in general carried through rigorous reforms.[63] This is, of course, in the fourth century A.D., but that the practice did then exist is shown by the order of Honorius, in 399 A.D., forbidding the sending out of the "apostles" for the taxes and the confiscation of the money for the imperial treasury.[64] The order was revoked five years later.[65] Jerome says that these apostles were still being sent out in his day.[66] As we have seen from Epiphanius they had a wider function than merely the collection of tithes. They claimed also a kind of general supervisory office. They were interested in strengthening support for the Law among the scattered communities. Epiphanius says that they were next to the patriarchs in rank and sat with them in the Sanhedrin.[67] The fact that the Codex Theodosianus mentions only the collection of money is natural, since that was the only matter that greatly concerned the government.[68] The Talmud agrees as to the variety of their functions. It has stories of certain scholars of high rank engaged in gathering money in the neighborhood of Antioch, in Tiberias and in Bostra, that is in Syria, Galilee and Arabia.[69] It relates instances of rabbis going out to announce the time of feasts, especially in leap years.[70] This was a very important service for Diaspora communities. But aside from these cases the Talmud also tells of distinguished scribes sent out to establish teachers of the Law.[71]

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[57] So Curtis in *Chronicles* ("Int. Crit. Commentary"), 1910, p. 393. See also Bacher, *"Das altjüdische Schulwesen,"* in *Jahrbuch für Jüd. Gesch. u. Litt.*, VI (1903), 56.

[58] For the situation then prevailing in the outlying tribes see Tobit 1:1-6.

[59] 2 Macc. 1:1-2, 9, 18; 2:16.

[60] Esther 9:20, 30.

[61] Philo, *Address to Caius* 31; *On Monarchy* 2:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 18:9:1.

[62] II Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25; I Cor. 16:3; cf. Acts 24:17; 11:30.

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[63] *Adv. Hær.* 30:4, 11. Cf. also Eusebius on Isa. 18:1.

[64] *Codex Theod.* 16:8:14. Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 386, n. 2.

[65] *Codex Theod.* 16:8:17. Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 386, n. 4.

[66] *Ad Gal.* 1:1.

[67] *Adv. Hær* 30:4.

[68] Cf. Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 405.

[69] Meg. 18b, Sanh. 26a.

In the New Testament we do not meet these men face to face, but they seem to be in the background. However one may judge of Luke's interpretation of Paul's early history, it would seem that the recognized function of the "apostle" lies back of the story of Paul's trip to Damascus. The author must have been familiar with the fact that authorized representatives were sent out by the Jerusalem authorities. The pro-circumcision movement which followed up Paul in Asia seems to have been built upon the pattern of the Jewish apostolate. Paul, upon arrival at Rome, was informed by resident Jewish leaders that no messengers had yet come to them from Jerusalem, the implication being that such were common and might be expected.[72] Justin later tells us that the Jews were always sending out "ordained and chosen men throughout all the world" to proclaim that Christianity was a godless heresy to be avoided and opposed.[73] Eusebius refers to this as an old custom and uses the word "apostles," as do also Epiphanius and Jerome.

Vogelstein, in his study of the subject,[74] has found the distinctive character of the apostle to be his deputized authority. He represented the central body of Judaism in regions too far removed from Judea to be more directly influenced. His work began in teaching, as we have seen in II Chronicles, in the post-exilic days, and this remained the dominant feature, as Christian and Talmudic witnesses show. His mission was to preach, to interpret authentically the Law, and to maintain such uniformity of practice as was possible among the widely scattered Jewish people. He took on other necessary functions, such as announcing the feasts and gathering the money for rabbinic schools, after the destruction of the Temple halted the stream of pilgrims who could bring the temple tax. But the predominance of the teaching and preaching function is seen in its survival in the inscription on the gravestone of a little girl in Venosa: *dixerunt trinus duo apostuli et duo rebbites.*[75] The funeral service had been conducted by two "apostles" and two rabbis. The apostle has superior rank to the local rabbi, and he performs a spiritual service.

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[70] Sanh. 1:18d, 19a. Krauss, *"Die Jüdischen Apostel," Jewish Quarterly Review*, XVII, 379f.

[71] Shebiith VI, 36d, Chag. 1, 7. Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[72] Acts 28:21.

[73] *Trypho* 108; cf. 17, 117.

[74] *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, XLIX (1905), 427-449.

The function of the Christian apostles agrees with the foregoing. They are first of all teachers and preachers, who have peculiar authority. They can confirm the work of others, and establish proper local organizations. In the case of Paul, especially, we see the financial function also appearing; and after the Council of Jerusalem Paul and others are represented as official carriers of the decree.[76] The important point that dominates the picture is the regularity of teaching and organization that comes from affiliation with the original group in Jerusalem.

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[75] *Corpus Ins. Lat.*, IX, 648 (6th century?); Oehler, in *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums,* LIII (1909), 444.

[76] Acts 15:22-23.

The further question that especially interests us is, Was the Jewish apostle ever a missionary to the Gentiles? Was he ever, like Paul, deputized for the great task of propaganda? There is one possible instance of such activity in the Talmudic tradition of the journey of R. Gamaliel II, R. Joshua, R. Eleazar b. Azaria, and R. Akiba to Rome for the purpose of making a proselyte of the consul Flavius Clemens, the nephew of Domitian.[77] The whole story, however, is so full of improbabilities that it cannot be accepted as historical. If historical it would prove only a special mission for the winning of a specially high-placed individual. In that respect it fits in with the picture we have elsewhere of the apostle. He was official and conservative in spirit. He would be akin to the Judaizers who pursued the Christian Paul and the Jewish Ananias, insisting on the letter of the Law. He was not a man of pioneering instincts, but one who prized regularity. To be sure, contact with the freer spirit of the Diaspora could not have been entirely without effect. Joseph, the rigorous apostle of Epiphanius' day, became a Christian.[78] It is quite conceivable that some of the Jewish apostles may have become liberal preachers of Judaism to the Gentiles with whom they came into contact in the synagogues and on their journeys. But they could not have been a conspicuous feature in the scheme of propaganda.

We have figures more nearly corresponding to the

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[77] See above, p. 42.

[78] Epiphanius, *Adv. Hær.* 30:4, 11.

Christian traveling missionary-apostle in the men we meet in Josephus' account of the winning to Judaism of the royal family of Adiabene:[79] Ananias, who comes to the neighboring court where Izates is living previously to his accession and persuades him to become a Jew; Eleazar, who follows with the emphasis upon the obligation of circumcision; the other Jew, unnamed, who influences the mother Helena; were all traveling representatives of Judaism. Grätz insists that they are tradespeople and only incidentally propagandists.[80] This, however, is not to be taken for granted from what Josephus says. Paul worked at his trade, and so did Aquila,[81] but both were primarily interested in the spread of Christianity. When we find "trade and propaganda hand in hand"[82] it is presumptuous to say that propaganda is incidental. On the other hand, there is no indication that any of these itinerants in Josephus were sent out from Jerusalem or by any official body of Jews; i.e., apostles in the strict sense. In fact no importance is attached to their place of origin. It is remarked incidentally that Eleazar came from Galilee; we do not know whence the others came. These men were traveling propagandists of Judaism corresponding so closely to the manner of early Christian missionaries that we can well suppose that here we have a type. Josephus mentions no others, but this may be accounted for by the fact that his history does not again lead into their field. He does, however, mention the men who duped Fulvia as temporary residents in Rome, one of them at least posing as a teacher of the law of Moses,[83] much as Paul and the other Christian leaders, somewhat later, established themselves in centers of the empire for their evangelistic work. In Acts and in the *Antiquities* [84] we read of traveling Jewish exorcists, whose work must be considered in the light of the place exorcism played in early Christianity. Trypho, also, man of flesh or of literary fiction, is a Jew engaged in proselytizing activity.[85]

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[79] *Ant.* 20:2:2-4.

[80] *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums,* XVIII (1869), 170.

[81] Acts 18:2-3.

[82] Cruickshank, "Proselyte, Proselytism," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* X, 400.

It must be granted that the actual records of traveling propagandists are few and not entirely convincing as determining any general policy. But these must be looked at in the light of two other series of facts. In the first place, one must consider the traditions of traveling evangelists in the early church: Paul,[86] Peter, Barnabas, Aquila, Apollos and others, issuing from various centers but following a similar method of propaganda. Secondly, we must take into account the traveling philosophic teachers of the Mediterranean area, of whom Apollonius of Tyana stands out as the clearest representative.[87] These men with true earnestness and zeal traveled far and wide with their message.[88] It is very likely, therefore, that the method of itinerant teaching and preaching was a common phenomenon of the time, and that the Jews of propagandist spirit followed it, as did the Christians and pagans.

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[83] *Ant.* 18:3:5.

[84] Acts 19:13; *Ant.* 18:2:5.

[85] Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho.*

[86] Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 253: "Paul may have learned in the school of the Pharisees how to travel for the purpose of propaganda. If so, it was not the worst thing he took over from this school." Propagandists to carry the gospel to the Gentiles are contemplated in the early tradition (Mark 13:10; cf. Matt. 24:14; 28:19).

[87] Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 334-383; Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 1912, pp. 81-91.

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[88] Epictetus says to one who contemplates taking up the calling of a teacher: "You are going to be enrolled in a combat at the Olympic games, man, not in a poor slight content." He must be prepared to stand before the world as a Godsent example of patient endurance, "without house, without estate, without a servant, lying on the ground, without kin, and having only earth and heaven and one poor cloak" (*Epict.* 3:22; cf. Case, *Evolution of Early Christianity,* pp. 270-271).

CHAPTER VI

JUDAISM'S MESSAGE FOR THE GENTILES

We have now surveyed the methods which lay at hand and which probably played a part in the spread of Judaism. Fundamental to it all was the presence abroad of the Jewish community and its religious center, the synagogue. The synagogue could be and doubtless was often consciously adapted to the needs of the foreigner. More conspicuous was the literary attack on paganism by the spread of the Septuagint and the issue of propagandist writings, some of them pseudepigraphic, some apocalyptic, some ethical and philosophical in emphasis. The journeyings of the individual missionary probably had their part also in Jewish propaganda, as it has had in all missionary activity.[1]

Important, however, as methods were in the spread of Judaism, they were secondary to the message itself which was offered to the Gentiles. From one point of view the formulation of the message is the most important part of the method.

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[1] To say, as does Radin (*The Jews among the Greeks and Romans,* 1915, pp. 158f.), that "actual preaching, such as the diatribe commenced by the Cynics, and before them by Socrates, was probably confined to the synagogue, or the meeting within the proseuche, and reached only those who were there assembled" is unreasonable. The group that would adopt the Greek literary method would hardly hesitate to adopt also the current manner of reaching the people, namely, preaching in the public places.

Predominantly, the Jewish message was: Leave idolatry and cease your polytheistic worship. This plea is very conspicuous in the *Sibylline Oracles.*[2] It appears also in Philo's work on the Ten Commandments and in his first treatise on Monarchy.[3] It is also a prominent element in the *Letter of Aristeas.*[4] In the Wisdom of Solomon which represents King Solomon calling upon the other kings of the earth to follow Judaism, the anti-idolatry note is sounded strongly.[5] From the Jewish point of view this was perhaps the most conspicuous characteristic of paganism. Until this abomination was left behind no one could be a Jew, but he who had taken this step had gone far toward acceptance with God. "He who refrains from idolatry," says R. Johanan (third century A.D.), "is a Jew."[6] The counterpart of the abandonment of polytheism and idolatry is the seeking of the one true God, who is urged upon the Gentiles not as Jehovah, but as the Great God,[7] the Mighty God,[8] the Living God,[9] the Eternal God,[10] the Creator and Father of the Universe,[11] the Sovereign Lord,[12] or as God.[13] Though he has his Temple in Jerusalem,[14] he is the Father of all men.[15]

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[2] E.g. III, 547-550.

[3] *On the Ten Commandments* 14-16; *On Monarchy* 1, 2.

[4] See especially 134-137.

[5] Chaps. xiii-xv.

[6] Meg. 13a; Moore, *op. cit.,* I, 325.

[7] *Sib. Or.* III, 773; IV, 163.

[8] *Sib. Or.* III, 549, 632.

[9] *Sib Or.* III, 763; Philo, *On Repentance* 2.

[10] *Sib. Or.* III, 763; Philo, *On Repentance* 2.

[11] Philo, *On Humanity* 6; *On Repentance* 1.

[12] Wisdom of Solomon 6:7; 8:3; 13:3, 9; 11:26.

[13] So generally in Philo and Wisdom of Solomon.

[14] *Sib. Or.* III, 773; cf. Philo, *Against Flaccus* 7.

[15] *Sib. Or.* III, 550.

Secondly, the Gentile was urged to seek virtue. "Those who have come over to this worship become at once prudent, and temperate, and modest, and gentle, and merciful, and humane, and venerable, and just, and magnanimous, and lovers of truth, and superior to all considerations of money or pleasure."[16] Of course Philo is speaking rhetorically, but there is no doubt of the emphasis. In verses falsely accredited to Philemon or Menander,[17] Gentiles are called upon not to bring offerings but to bring a heart free of covetousness. "Love righteousness, ye judges of the earth," begins the Wisdom of Solomon, which throughout appeals for morality as well as for monotheism. The *Sibylline Oracles* urge: "Honor righteousness and deal oppressively with no man; for this the Everlasting commands to wretched mortals."[18]

This is, however, not the whole story. Just before the passage quoted above from the *Sibylline Oracles* stands the following:[19]

> But thou, O man of many counsels, make no slow delay, but turn again and make propitiation to God; sacrifice to Him hundreds of bulls and lambs firstborn and of goats, as the seasons go round; propitiate Him, the immortal God, if haply He may have mercy, for He is God alone and there is no other.

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[16] Philo, *On Repentance* 2.

[17] Quoted in Pseudo-Justin, *De Monarchia* 4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5:14:119-120; Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* 13:13:45-46. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 137.*

[18] *Sib. Or.* III, 630ff.

[19] *Sib. Or.* III, 625-629.

There is much more that could be adduced of the same tenor. Judaism had long maintained the ethical and ceremonial side by side, and there is no reason to think that they were severed even in the Diaspora.[20] Thousands of the Jews still went to Jerusalem to sacrifice, and the ridicule of the Roman satirists shows us ceremonial items conspicuous in the Jewish customs as seen by the Gentiles. Philo himself could not be freed from the bonds of the letter of the law, even after he had thoroughly allegorized it.[21] But he attests the existence of a freer point of view when he says, in the same passage, that there are men "who hold the written laws to be nothing but symbols of spiritual doctrines and carefully seek out the latter while carelessly despising the former."

Though not ready to go so far as to modify the legalistic demands, Philo encouraged the Gentiles by the assurance that the transition to Judaism was not one of "excessive difficulty." [22] God "without any delay promptly takes the suppliant to Himself as His own, and goes forth to meet the intention of the man who, in a genuine and sincere spirit of piety and truth, hastens to do Him service." [23]

This point of view of Philo's is found also elsewhere. There was evidently an attempt to simplify

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[20] Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 138f.*

[21] *On Migration of Abraham* 16.

[22] *On Repentance* 2.

[23] *Ibid.* However, Friedländer (*Geschichte des jüdischen Apologetik,* 1903, p. 221) goes too far: "The passage from heathendom was made easy, no burden of law was laid upon him, but the Jewish religion was exalted as a good, not hard to obtain but rather lying close at hand and easily won by repentance."

Judaism for the sake of the Gentile who found it hard. This is seen in the simplification of the law attributed to Hillel and probably current in Jesus' day. "What you yourself hate do not to another," is the way Hillel phrases it.[24] He adds "This is the whole law; all the rest is only comment upon it." Abrahams is right in calling attention to the significant fact that this simplification of the law is given to a would-be proselyte. He says, "It is quite natural that simplifications of the Law would be most required for proselytizing propaganda. It would be necessary to present Judaism in as concise a form as possible for such purposes." [25] It should be noted that Philo himself uses a similar form in a passage where he is considering the elements of the law best adapted for the Greek world: "Whatever is hateful for you to suffer, do not do." [26]

A further form of simplification is seen in the doctrine of the Two Ways. Most scholars agree that the first six chapters of the *Didache* have at their base a Jewish catechetical treatise on the Two Ways, used for work among the Gentiles. It is especially interesting that we find in close connection with this doctrine the negative Golden Rule, much after the style of Hillel.[27] A similar formulation of the Golden Rule occurs in the course of the symposium described in the *Letter of Aristeas*. It is in reply to the king's question: "What is the teaching of Wisdom?"[28] Hence here again it is a simplification for a Gentile auditor.

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[24] Shabb. 31a; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar* I, 460.

[25] *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,* First Series, 1917, p. 28.

[26] *Hypothetica,* in Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* 8:7. Quoted by Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 460.

[27] *Didache* 1:2.

With two current religious types propagandist Judaism had to do: namely, the philosophies and the Mysteries. The former, while originally intellectual, had developed decided religious interests in Cynicism and Stoicism. Philo is typical of the Alexandrian Judaism that had learned to know and appreciate the value of the philosophical approach to religion. He made it his life work to present Judaism along these lines. The reader of Philo's writings sees Judaism as the great original and final philosophy, the truths of which are assembled in the incomparable works of Moses. This is the Judaism that Philo brings down to the market place and offers to the world.

Philo seems unsympathetic with the Mysteries and gives them little consideration.[29] Yet they were a vital religious element of his day. What approach did Judaism make to them, if any? Did Judaism ever meet the spiritual craving involved in them as Christianity later did? This was a phase of Gentile religion that did not find favor at Alexandria, as even the early character of Alexandrian Christianity shows. We need sources from Asia Minor and Europe to show these things. None of them represents Judaism as making any approaches to the mystery religions. Judaism had her rites, her food laws and her fasts. She offered to Gentiles the way that led to the favor of God; she required of them certain acts of purification and initiation. But she lacked the spirit of a mystery cult. Chiefly, she lacked a mediator, a Savior. Moses did well, no doubt, in philosophical circles, and must have had an appeal to Greeks who held their Lycurgus in high regard. But the rank and file were not seeking for laws; they were seeking a way of redemption by vicarious suffering. The message of Judaism did not adapt itself to this demand.

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[28] *Letter of Aristeas* 207.

[29] *On Those Sacrificing* 12: "The lawgiver entirely removes out of his sacred code of law all ordinances respecting initiations, and mysteries, and all such trickery and buffoonery; not choosing that men who are brought up in such a constitution as that which he was giving should be busied about such matters, and placing their dependance on mystic enchantments should be led to neglect the truth. . . . Let no one therefore of the disciples or followers of Moses either be initiated himself into any mysterious rites of worship or initiate anyone else; for the act of learning and that of teaching such initiations is an impiety of no slight order."

CHAPTER VII

THE PROSELYTE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Theoretically there was no distinction between the proselyte and the Jew. Probably the division of the synagogue groups into Jews and God-fearers includes the proselytes in the first term without distinction.[1] Proselytes are to be received, says Philo, into a united fellowship that knows no distinctions, so that the whole may "appear one creature though the parts are divided, mutual fellowship uniting the whole and rendering it compact and coherent." [2]

His Obligations

This identity is seen clearly in the obligations which the proselyte must assume. He is now obliged to keep "the whole law," as Paul reminds his converts who are tempted to Judaize.[3] Justin also refers to the "one and the same law" which makes proselytes "like one of themselves (i.e. the Jews)." [4] This is clearly implied in Philo, for the proselyte gets "an equal share" in all "laws, privileges and immunities." [5] In the Talmud, it is made explicit: "When the proselyte has taken the bath (after the circumcision), and has come up out of the water, behold he is in every respect an Israelite."[6] That there might be no misunderstanding the candidate was constantly reminded of what he was undertaking, and even during baptism had the law read to him.[7]

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[1] See above, p. 39; cf. pp. 33ff.

[2] *On Humanity* 12; cf. *On Monarchy* 1:7.

[3] Gal. 5:3.

[4] *Trypho* 123.

[5] *On Monarchy* 1:7.

The racial and social implications of proselytism appear in the appeals of Philo on behalf of the new convert. He is spoken of in terms adapted to the experience of the *ger* in ancient Israel. He is one who has left country and friends and relatives and old customs, and he must now find these among the Jews.[8] It is taken for granted that he will share all the misfortunes and hardships of the Jewish people. Particularly after the fall of Jerusalem, when the Jews were suffering under various disabilities, it was understood that the prospective proselyte was to be warned of these and asked if he also were ready to bear them.[9] A proselyte assumed a relation, therefore, not only to the God of the Jews, but also to the Jewish people as a social unit. This fact was in the mind of Juvenal when he described the unfortunate results upon the children of a man who had dabbled in Judaism. He kept the Sabbath and followed the Jewish manner of worship, but the children went so far as to despise the Roman law.[10] The same point of view is revealed in Tacitus, who says: "The first elements of their religion teach their proselytes to despise the gods, abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers and their children." [11] Viewed therefore both from the outside and from the inside the proselyte made a most striking social transition. He entered Israel as a newborn child.[12] He took a new name.[13] His old social relationships lapsed, so that even his children born before he joined himself to the Jews could not be his heirs.[14]

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[6] Yeb. 47b; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 928.

[7] Masseket Guerim 1, Jeb. 47a Bar; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* III, 110-111.

[8] Philo, *On Monarchy* 1:7; *On Humanity* 12; *On Creation of Magistrates* 6; *On Those Sacrificing* 10.

[9] Masseket Guerim. See footnote 7.

[10] *Sat.* 14:96ff. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 292.

The formal requirements for admission into the Jewish community, according to the Talmud,[15] were three: Circumcision, the Ceremonial Bath, and the Sacrifice. The second item has been disputed from the apologetic point of view by Christians, but is now generally admitted. The third was not required after the destruction of the Temple, and it is doubtful if it could ever have had the importance of the other two. Circumcision applied only to male proselytes.

Was it required of every male proselyte? Izates [16] was advised by Ananias not to be circumcised, but for a reason peculiar to his case. Ananias was himself afraid of what Izates' subjects might do if their king became a Jew. He threatened to leave the court from fear; he was sure that God would forgive Izates "even though he did not perform the operation, while it was omitted out of necessity and for fear of his subjects." [17] Circumcision was, therefore, recognized as required and desirable, except in a special situation. The issue did not arise in the case of his mother, Helena, but that her adviser thought as Ananias did appears from the nature of the counsel which she gave her son. She urged him not to be circumcised.[18] The arrival of Eleazar at the court with his stricter doctrine served to induce Izates to fulfill the legal requirement.

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[11] *History* 5:5. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 307.

[12] Yeb. 62a; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* II, 423. First attributed to R. Jose, c. 150 A.D. Cf. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten,* 1903, II, 164.

[13] Juster, *op. cit.,* II, 234; Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 185.*

[14] Gratz, *History of the Jews,* Eng. trans., II, 593.

[15] Ker 81a; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 107, note c.

[16] Josephus, *Ant.* 20:2:2-4.

[17] *Ant.* 20:2:4.

Another revelation of the exceptive attitude occurs in the controversy between R. Eleazar b. Hyrcanus and R. Joshua b. Hananiah (c. 90 A.D.).[19] Eleazar says that one is a proselyte when he has been circumcised but not bathed; Joshua says that he is a proselyte when he has been bathed but not circumcised. One argues from the analogy of the fathers and the other from the analogy of the mothers at Mount Sinai when the law was given. But the council of rabbis decided that they were both wrong—that until a man had had the bath and also undergone circumcision he was not a proselyte. This controversy seems to have been technical; no specific case is discussed.

Arrian of Nicomedia, in his *Discourses of Epictetus,* reports the philosopher as saying that a man can call himself a Jew only when he has been "baptized" and "chosen."[20] Circumcision is not named, but may be implied here, for the writer evidently has proselytes in mind.[21]

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[18] *Ant.* 20:2:4.

[19] Yeb. 46a; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 106, Schürer, *Geschichte,* III, 182, note 81 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 320, note 299).

[20] II, 9:19-21; Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 154-155.

[21] Note however Tacitus, *History* 5:5: "All who embrace their faith submit to the same operation (circumcision)" (Reinach, *Textes,* p. 307).

The most striking passage among those which omit the necessity of circumcision is one from the *Sibylline Oracles:* [22]

> O ill-starred mortals, let not these things be, and drive not the great God to divers deeds of wrath; but have done with swords and moanings and killing of men and deeds of violence, and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers, and, stretching your hands to heaven, seek forgiveness for your former deeds, and with praises ask pardon for your bitter ungodliness.

The coming of Gentiles is clearly contemplated, but the only ritual form is baptism.

"There are those," says Philo,[23] "who hold the written laws to be nothing but symbols of spiritual doctrines and carefully seek out the latter while carelessly despising the former." He then proceeds to condemn the practice of letting go the outward forms because they have been spiritualized; for example, the Sabbath and the feasts. "Not because the rite of circumcision is an emblem of the excision of pleasures and of all passions and of the destruction of that impious opinion, according to which the mind has imagined itself to be by itself competent to produce offspring; does it follow that we are to annul the law about circumcision."

Two facts are worthy of our attention here: First, that there were those who were in favor of dropping the external rites when they had been spiritualized, and that among these rites was circumcision. Second, that Philo, the liberal, Hellenizing allegorist, was unwilling to drop the rite. The proselyte is not specifically mentioned, but must be chiefly, though not exclusively perhaps, in mind here. The extent and warmth of Philo's discussion show that the question is not academic. Elsewhere he distinguishes a proselyte as one "who is *not* circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, but in the pleasures and appetites and all the other passions of the soul" and dwells upon the faithfulness of the Jews in Egypt in their pre-circumcision days.[24] In still another place, he says: "Not that the action of circumcision is important in itself, but because if that is neglected, the covenant itself is treated with contempt, when the seal by which it is recognized and ratified is not made perfect."[25] Philo is a good example of a liberal who sees with some alarm the progress of his own party. At the cost of consistency he is holding on to the legalistic view. He tries to combine liberalism and conservatism as he tries to combine literalism and fondness for allegory.

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[22] IV, 162-167.

[23] *On Migration of Abraham* 16.

Two facts tended to lessen the demand for circumcision. One was that women were not circumcised, and that so large a number of converts were women.[26] A second was that many men were already circumcised and did not need the operation. That the latter situation caused a real issue is seen in the dispute of Hillel and Shammai. The former held that one already circumcised needed only the bath, but the latter held that at least a little blood must be shed; otherwise the covenant was not complete.[27]

[24] *Fragment on Exodus* 22:19.

[25] *Fragment on Genesis* 17:14.

[26] See below p. 127f.

[27] Yeb. 8, 9a; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 105.

Occasional references to admission to Judaism without circumcision may be partly due to misunderstanding which arose from the situations just mentioned, from special circumstances as in the case of Izates, or from the presence of the God-fearer, whose devotion to the Jewish religion may have been more obvious than his exact status. But it is hard to explain the references in Philo and the *Sibylline Oracles* without the supposition that there did exist a tendency, probably weak and temporary, to let down the distinctive barrier.[28] It was the logical development of the toleration of the God-fearer and of the tendency to spiritualize Judaism.[29] Many Jews, seeing the difficulties of the Gentiles in a complete Judaizing, were inclined to be content with a modified Judaism.[30] They were glad when Gentiles showed devotion to the law, customs and spirit of Judaism, even if they did not take circumcision. That Philo, the great liberal, condemned this lax practice shows how little chance it had of wide or permanent success.

HIS PRIVILEGES

As a Jew, now incorporated into the family of Abraham, what were the privileges of the proselyte? Here also we note chiefly identity with the privileges of the heirs by birth. They were to receive "equal rank and honor" and "the same favors that were bestowed on the native Jews." [31] There was a tendency to idealize the proselyte as is usual when new recruits to any religion are few and manifestly at a social disadvantage. They are especially beloved of God.[32] They are more worthy than Israelites, for Israel accepted the Law only by virtue of the miracles about Mt. Sinai, whereas the proselyte accepts it for itself.[33] Abraham's delay in being circumcised was due to God's desire to encourage all men to accept Judaism. For if Abraham was circumcised at ninety-nine years of age, surely there is hope for every man.[34]

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[28] "Few and far between, if any, were the Jewish teachers who were willing to accept a proselyte on the basis of baptism alone and without the covenant in the flesh" (Montefiore, in Foakes-Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, 1920, I, 44).

[29] An extreme instance is the saying of R. Johanan (3d cent.): "He who refrains from idolatry is a Jew" (Meg. 13a); Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 325).

[30] Krüger, *Philo u. Josephus als Apologeten des Judentums*, 1906, p. 76.

The proselyte will participate with the Jew in the enjoyments of the Messianic era; having left his polytheism and idolatry he is ready to face the great Judge of the world. Even the God-fearers, according to one tradition, as sincere worshipers of the one God may expect to sit down at the great Messianic banquet.[35]

In temporal religious life the proselyte had a few real handicaps. The law was cited to exclude him from immediate full membership in the assembly of Israel if he were of certain nearby accursed nations. A few were specified as never to be received.[36] These restrictions were, however, not taken seriously. Achior, who becomes a proselyte in Judith,[37] is an Ammonite. Ruth is a Moabitess. R. Joshua (late first century A.D.) argued against Gamaliel II that old restrictions were not binding, since the old nations no longer existed.[38] Philo, however, still cites Deuteronomy and expects that an Egyptian will have to wait till the third generation for full acceptance.[39]

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[31] Philo, *On Monarchy* 1, 7.

[32] Philo, *On Those Sacrificing* 10.

[33] R. Simeon b. Lakish, c. 250 A.D. Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 928, note h.

[34] Mekilta on Exodus 22:20.

[35] Meg. 72b; see above p. 38f.

[36] Deut. 23:3, 7-8.

The God-fearers were generally denied the privilege of the Passover Feast, for the law was specific in requiring circumcision in connection with it.[40] Josephus says that foreigners "who come hither to worship" (i.e., to Jerusalem) cannot partake of the sacrifice,[41] though we know that circumcised proselytes could do so. In the outer court of the Temple there was room for any and all who wanted to come to worship.[42] Sacrifices were received from any who desired to make them.[43] The full proselyte, however, as a Jew, presumably entered freely into the court of the Israelites, though Philo and Josephus are not specific on this point. The former, indeed, says, "Death is inexorably pronounced against all those who enter into the inner circuit of the sacred precincts . . . unless he be *one of their own nation by blood.*"[44] Perhaps circumcision meets this point.

We learn from the Talmud[45] that a proselyte cannot repeat the Confession when he brings his first-fruits, because he cannot say truthfully, "which thou hast sworn to give to *our* fathers," though if his mother was an Israelite he can use the words. If he is praying alone he says, "The God of the fathers of Israel"; and if in the synagogue he says, "The God of your fathers." So then, it would seem, the proselyte cannot be on the same level with the Jew before God.[46] Looked at more narrowly, however, this is not necessarily so serious a matter. The proselyte's blessing is not in question. The stipulation may have had its birth in the scribal desire for scrupulous accuracy. The proselyte should not lie, even in his confession!

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[37] Judith 14:10.
[38] Yad. 4:4.
[39] *On Humanity* 13.
[40] Meg. 72b; cf. Exod. 12:48.
[41] *War* 6:9:3.
[42] John 12:30; Acts 21:26; *Ant.* 11:4:3.
[43] *War* 2:17:3.
[44] Philo, Address to Caius, 31; cf. *Ant.* 11:4:3; *War* 5:5:2; *Against Apion* 2:37; Acts 21:28f.
[45] Bik. 1:4.

The most striking exception in the status of the proselyte was that having to do with intermarriage. A woman proselyte, or daughter of a proselyte, could not become the wife of a priest till the tenth generation.[47] The proselyte records, carefully kept to avoid such contamination, are what Herod is said to have indignantly destroyed.[48]

While the Gentile was accepted, with certain ceremonial restrictions as noted, there was a feeling of opposition to proselytes, as such, that needs to be reckoned with. Probably the Book of Jonah is protesting against such a spirit—a spirit of jealousy for Israel's exclusive place in the affections of Jehovah. Philo also seems to be aware that the proselyte is not heartily welcome. He pleads for him. Not until later, however, do we find statements that ring with real anti-proselyte spirit.

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[46] Schürer, *Geschichte* III, 187 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 326).

[47] Kidd. 4:1, 6, 7.

[48] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1:7:13.

R. Helbo, of the third century A.D., says that proselytes are the leprosy of Israel.[49] Elsewhere the charge is made that they delay the coming of the new age.[50] The Hillel and Shammai tradition shows not only that there was a party friendly to the reception of proselytes, but also that there was a party opposed to them.

We may conclude that the proselyte became a member of the Jewish community, cutting off all his family and other social connections outside and living according to Jewish law and customs. He met some opposition from within, or at least a cool welcome in some quarters, but this did not prevent him from reaping his real advantages; namely, the privileges of the Passover, the Temple, and the Messianic hopes. The famous Christian anti-Jewish tribute makes him one who out-Jews the Jew himself [51] in his thoroughgoing legalism. Perhaps it is this character of the proselyte that leads Paul to think of the Gentile who is circumcised as beyond hope. It is doubtful whether their decision was so irrevocable as here implied, in view of Josephus' reference to apostate proselytes,[52] and to the later strictness in sifting out from the applicants only those who were likely to prove faithful. On the other hand, it is extremely probable that most of those who went so far as circumcision and all the social disadvantages involved in the change were pretty thoroughly convinced.

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[49] "Proselytes are as troublesome for Israel as leprosy for the skin; that is what the scripture says in these words: Proselytes shall attach themselves to Israel—they shall be a leprosy to the house of Jacob" (Kid. 70b; Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* III, 930).

[50] Nidda 13b Bar: "Proselytes . . . delay the coming of the Messiah" (Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 930). Yeb. 109b: R. Isaac, third century A.D., says that evils upon evils fall upon them that accept conversions (Strack u. Billerbeck, *Kommentar,* I, 930).

[51] Matt. 23:15; Justin, *Trypho,* 122.

[52] See below, p. 118.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUCCESS OF PROSELYTISM

Numerically Considered

There are no ancient statistics extant with which to measure the success of the Jewish proselyte movement. In attempting an estimate, we must be content to take some reckonings from figures which pretend to record the entire ancient Jewish population.[1]

Philo says that the Jews have "spread over the whole face of the earth" and that everywhere they appear "but little inferior in number to the original native population." [2] This is obviously rhetorical. He is speaking more concretely when he estimates the Jewish population of Egypt, as far as the Ethiopian border, at one million.[3] This is out of a total population of 7,500,000 outside of Alexandria, according to Josephus.[4] The same writer tells us that outside of Palestine the largest number of Jews lived in Syria, with its great centers of Antioch and Damascus.[5] Hence in Syria also we must estimate upwards of a million. In Acts we see a considerable Jewish population in Asia Minor, and this picture is verified by the action of Flaccus in confiscating the large revenue from the region intended for Jerusalem. Cicero defends Flaccus' action on the ground that such large money transfers were not salutary for public finance.[6] On the basis of the amount of money in question (more than one hundred and twenty pounds of gold), the number of taxable males is estimated at a minimum of 45,000, and the total Jewish community in the province of Asia at 180,000 at least.[7] Harnack conservatively estimates the Jewish population of Palestine at 500,000 on the basis of the figures of Baedeker for modern Palestine,[8] though Josephus puts down 1,100,000 as the number killed in the siege of Jerusalem, including, of course, many pilgrims to the feast.[9] Tacitus makes this figure 600,000.[10] Philo says the land was overpopulated,[11] and Josephus makes the population of Galilee alone more than 3,000,000.[12] He estimates the total number assembled at the annual Passover, on the basis of the number of paschal lambs slaughtered, at above 3,000,000.[13] Josephus' figures must be gross exaggeration, used to make his country and people more respected by the Græco-Roman world. A fair estimate of the Jewish population of Palestine, considering geographical, archæological and historical data, will be about one million (in addition there were in Palestine perhaps a half-million non-Jews). With a million each for Syria and Egypt, and a million and a half for Asia Minor, Europe and North Africa,[14] we have about four and one-half millions for the total number of Jews in the Roman Empire.[15] This is a wonderful increase of the Jewish people when we consider the little group that came back from Babylon and founded the Jewish state, or even in comparison with the Jewish state as we see it at the opening of the Maccabean wars. No adequate explanation of this great expansion is possible without taking into account proselytism,[16] evidence of which from many quarters we have already noted.[17]

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[1] For population estimates see Juster, *Les Juifs dans L'Empire romain,* 1914, I, 209-212; Harnack, *Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums,* 4 *Aufl.,* 1924, I, 9-13.

[2] *Address to Caius* 31.

[3] *Against Flaccus* 6.

[4] *War* 2:16:4.

[5] *War* 7:3:3.

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[6] Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 23, 28.

[7] Reinach, Art. "Diaspora" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* IV, 562.

[8] *Mission u. Ausbreitung,* I, 12.

[9] *War* 6:9:3.

[10] Juster, *op. cit.,* I, 210, note 3.

[11] *Life of Moses* 3:30.

[12] *Life* 45.

[13] *War* 2:14:3; 6:9:3.

This does not take us far toward actual figures for the proselytes. While we have numerous individual instances of Gentiles won over to Judaism, direct references to numbers of proselytes are few and not very instructive. "A great many" became proselytes at Antioch.[18] "Many of the [Greeks] have come over to our laws."[19] The reference in the Gospel of Matthew implies limited success at the cost of great effort, but more than this can hardly be deduced from it.[20] The references in Acts to Gentiles connected with the synagogue give the impression that they are characteristic of almost every Jewish community, but in relatively small numbers.[21] Horace's friend in Rome calls himself "one of many" (*unus multorum*) who observe Jewish customs.[22] Moses anticipated, says Philo, that "all men everywhere" would come over to Judaism,[23] but that happy result he sees as "only a hope," though every year brings its regular harvest.[24]

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[14] Strabo mentions together Egypt and Cyrene as having a very large number of Jews. They form, in the latter, one of four classes of the population (*Ant.* 14:7:2). Their large number is implied also in Dio Cassius' report of the massacres in the time of Trajan (68:32). Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 196f.

[15] Harnack, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., I, 12f.

[16] Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Bousset, *op, cit.*, 3d ed., p. 78; Reinach, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 570; Harnack, *op. cit.*, 4th ed., I, 13 (Eng. trans. 2nd ed., I, 8). Cf. also Moore, *op. cit.*, I, 348f.

[17] See Chapter III.

[18] Josephus, *War* 7:3:3.

[19] *Against Apion* 2:11.

[20] Matt. 23:15.

Ancient testimony to the wealth contributed to the Temple by Gentiles gives us some clue to the success of proselytism. Josephus mentions God-fearers and travelers from afar as sources of its wealth.[25] Tacitus tells us that much of the wealth and grandeur of the state is due to "the scum and refuse of other nations," who "renouncing the religion of their country, flocked in crowds to Jerusalem." [26] The excessive exports of gold from Asia which caused the embargo by Flaccus and his later trial may indicate special success among the Gentiles in Asia Minor. Cicero says the gold was exported "under pretext of being given to the Jews." [27] Christianity's early success in this section of the world may indicate that the soil had already been well worked. Money was given to Judaism, however, from many different motives,[28] and even if we knew much more than we do about the sums received we still could not make concrete estimates of the success of proselytism.

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[21] See above, p. 40.

[22] Horace, *Sat.* 1:9:60ff.; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 246.

[23] *On Repentance* 1.

[24] *On Humanity* 15.

[25] *Ant.* 14:7:2.

[26] *History* 5:5; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 307.

[27] *Pro Flacco* 28; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 238.

[28] Josephus (*War* 6:6) reports Titus' comments on their wealth. See below, p. 123, note 49.

Josephus reminds us of the operation of another influence which has to do with the numerical strength of the body of converts, when he says that some who became followers of Judaism proved inconstant.[29] Becoming a Jew was not irrevocable; instances arose where even a Jew renounced his Judaism.[30] Probably much of the unpopularity that proselytes suffered later was due to their supposed inconstancy. This may explain the care in accepting proselytes urged by many, and the solemn warning given the would-be proselyte as to what the Jews were suffering.[31] The permanence of the transition necessarily varied much with the locality and the period, and reflected to some extent the strength of the competition. Detracting influences operated most freely upon the more loosely affiliated "God-fearers," as the success of early Christianity among these adherents of the synagogue shows.

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[29] "Many of them [Greeks] have come over to our laws, and some of them have continued in their observation; but others had not courage enough to persevere and so departed from them again" (*Against Apion* 2:11). Some think this may have reference to Christian successes in winning over proselytes. It may refer to the persecutions under Domitian, when Flavius Clemens suffered (Dio Cassius 67:14). That this was a period when many, both Jews and proselytes tended to change their status to avoid the tax is evidenced also by Suetonius: "Those were prosecuted who without acknowledging that faith lived as Jews, as well as those who concealed their origin, and did not pay the tribute levied upon their people. I recall being present in my youth when the person of a man ninety years old was examined before the prosecutor and a very crowded court to see whether he was circumcised" (*Domitian* 12).

[30] Philo's nephew, son of Alexander the alabarch of Alexandria, a native Jew, forswore his religion (*Ant.* 20:5:2).

[31] See above, p. 103.

We cannot, therefore, give even an approximate count of the proselytes to Judaism in the Mediterranean world of the New Testament period. They were numerous enough to claim the attention of Philo and Josephus, conspicuous enough for pagan writers such as Tacitus and Horace and Juvenal to see them as a part of the Judaism of their time. They are looked upon as a factor in the great growth of the Jewish population following the Exile. The rapid development of Christianity into a Gentile religion seems inexplicable without a large proselyte constituency. More than this can hardly be said.

GENERAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES

Having now paid our qualified tribute to statistics, let us turn our attention to the evidence for the general influence of Judaism upon the life of the times. Herein may lie a clue as valuable as numbers for measuring the success of propaganda. The statements of Philo[32] and Josephus[33] bear witness to a wide area over which Jewish customs prevailed. These statements are very general and evidently greatly exaggerated. A similar extravagance appears in the famous remark of Seneca, who saw Jewish customs, especially the Sabbath, spreading so widely that it seemed as though the conquered were giving laws to the conquerors.[34]

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[32] "Not only the Jews but almost every other nation . . . have dedicated themselves to embrace and honor them [the Jewish laws]." They "influence all nations, barbarians and Greeks, the inhabitants of continents and islands, the eastern nations and the western, Europe and Asia; in short the whole habitable world from one extremity to the other" (*Life of Moses* 2:4).

[33] "The multitude of mankind itself have had a great inclination of a long time to follow our religious observances; for there is not any city of the Greeks, nor any of the barbarians, nor any nation whatever whither our custom of resting on the Sabbath hath not come, and by which our fasts and lighting up of lamps and many of our prohibitions as to food are not observed. . . . As God himself pervades all the world, so hath our law passed through all the world also" (*Against Apion* 2:39(40)).

Horace tells us that there are many in Rome who observe the Jewish Sabbath.[35] Philo extravagantly asserts that all men and nations observe it.[36] Juvenal picks out the Judaizing Roman as a well-known instance of a man who sets a bad example for his children.[37] Persius notes that Jewish observances have a wide appeal to a superstitious age.[38] Pagan writers also indicate some currency of Jewish ideas of the new age. Suetonius remarks: "There had spread over all the Orient an old and established belief that it was fated at that time for men coming from the East to rule the world." [39] Tacitus is more specific that the Orient shall return to power, and men from Judea shall rule the world.[40] How widespread these ideas were is attested by Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue,* which presumes to adapt apocalyptic conceptions to Roman usage.

Schürer's study of the inscriptions found in the regions north of the Black Sea [41] reveals to us there an area marked not only by regular Jewish communities centering about their synagogues, but also by other communities strongly influenced by Jewish propaganda while remaining essentially pagan. These latter address their divinity as God Most High, a term which has very close Jewish connections, but they use also in their oaths a well-known pagan formula, and they adorn their inscriptions with an adaptation of the eagle, the symbol of Jupiter.

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[34] "When, meanwhile, the customs of that most accursed nation have gained such strength that they have been now received in all lands, the conquered have given laws to the conquerors" (Quoted in Augustine, *City of God* 6:11; see Reinach, *Textes,* p. 262f.).

[35] *Sat.* 1:9:61-72; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 246.

[36] *Life of Moses* 2:4.

[37] *Sat.* 14:96-106; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 292.

[38] *Sat.* 5:176-184; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 264.

[39] *Vespasian* 4; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 330.

[40] *History* 5:13; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 322.

The same sort of development took place among the Jews in central Asia Minor.[42] Colonized early by the Seleucids,[43] they retained their special privileges during the later Roman rule, though they tended in some cases to become less orthodox. Some Jews, for instance, even served as high priests for the imperial cults. But at the same time they exerted a strong counter-influence upon the neighboring peoples. There also communities have been found which worshiped God Most High, associations calling themselves Sabbatistæ, which, with marked Jewish characteristics, are not strictly Jewish. Ascriptions of holiness and omnipotence to their god, occurrence of the doctrine of original sin and of the good angel, the likeness of the ark and the inscription NOE on coins of Apamæa, all point to Jewish ideas, while the dedication of votive hands in the form of the *benedictio latina* is also referred to a Jewish source.

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[41] Schürer, *"Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche"* in *Sitzungberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1897, pp. 200-225; also *Geschichte* III, 23f.* (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 226, note 22).

[42] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* 1897, II, 667-676. Cumont, *"Les Mystères de Sabazius et le Judaisme,"* in *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* 1906, pp. 63-79.

[43] Josephus, *Ant.* 12:3.

We must further take note of the magical texts[44] discovered in Egypt, which sometimes combine Hebrew names of God and of His angels with Egyptian, Greek and other Semitic divine names. These indicate the passing over into Gentile circles of the name of the Hebrew God, with enough of His claim to authority and power to secure Him a place in the magic formulæ. These texts are usually dated third century A.D. or later, but it is possible that they are earlier. At any rate here is a syncretistic result of some generations of contact. Jewish magicians and exorcists appear at work in foreign lands in the first century,[45] spreading the reputation of their God for power and authority.

The influence, therefore, of propagandist Judaism was not limited to a narrow circle that was fully assimilated. Like every other such movement it sowed its seed widely, and grew a much wider crop than could be garnered into Jewish barns. Next to the proselyte there was the God-fearer, who was only slightly removed, perhaps not at all in some cases,[46] from full fellowship in the synagogue. Some were frequent hearers of the law and followers of a part of its requirements. Still others had learned merely to respect the power of the Jewish God, whose wrath they proposed to avoid and whose favor they proposed to win and use in the familiar and congenial ways of magical formulæ.

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[44] Blau, *Das Jüdische Zauberwesen,* 1898, pp. 128-137. Deissmann, *Bible Studies,* Eng. ed., 1901, pp. 321-336. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* pp. 63-65.

[45] Acts 13:6; 19:13; Josephus, *Ant.* 8:2:5; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6:542ff.; Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 291f.

[46] See above, p. 108.

Classes of Society Reached

We may discover an important factor in determining the success of proselytism in an appraisal of the classes of society reached. Paul says that among Christians there were "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble."[47] Turning to Tacitus, we find that he says the same thing, without appreciation, of the Jewish proselytes; he calls them "scum and refuse."[48] But it should be noted that Tacitus follows up his classification with the strange conclusion: "hence the wealth and grandeur" of the Jewish state. The Christians of Paul's day were not accused, even by their worst enemies, of amassing wealth. But one of the later frequent complaints made against the Jews was that they were too rich, particularly that too much money flowed through their religious channels.[49] Josephus finds Gentile adherents a particular source of wealth for Judaism.[50] As we have noted before,[51] the individual proselytes whom Josephus mentions are people of influence without exception, and the proselyte traditions in the rabbinic literature deal with wealthy or otherwise influential persons. The Gentiles reached by the literary propaganda would be of the upper classes. Philo, Josephus, and the author of the Wisdom of Solomon contemplated educated people. Even the *Sibylline Oracles,* judged by their later use among Alexandrian Christian leaders, must have made their appeal in the educated quarter. References in Horace, Ovid, and Tibullus show Judaism influencing the literary class.[52]

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[47] I Cor. 1:26.

[48] *History* 5:5; Reinach, *Textes*, p. 307.

[49] Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28. In *War* 6:6:2, Josephus makes Titus say to the Jews at the siege: "We have given you leave to gather up that tribute which is paid to God, with such other gifts as are dedicated to him. . . . At length, you became richer than ourselves . . . you make preparations for war against us with our own money."

[50] *Ant.* 14:7:2.

[51] See above, pp. 66-68.

It can be said that the classes contemplated by Philo in his appeals for mercy and love for the proselyte were of the poorer sort, but the atmosphere of these passages is strongly influenced by the associations with the term *ger* in the scriptural traditions; and the *ger* was uniformly poor and unprotected and needy. Philo's writings, however, appeal only to the philosophically educated. Moreover, in a passage worth considering in this connection, Philo considers the native Egyptian as a possible proselyte. He says, "If any of them *should* come over (optative mood), they are not to be rejected or treated with hostility as the children of enemies but to be received in such a manner that in the third generation they may be admitted into the community." [53] I think we are justified in inferring that the conversion of Egyptians was not common. How Philo felt toward them is revealed in his expression of indignation at the Jews being treated by Flaccus as Egyptian rustics.[54] Jews classed themselves not

[52] Hild, *"Les Juifs devant l'opinion romaine,"* in *Revue des études juives,* XI, 32f.

[53] *On Humanity* 13.

[54] *Against Flaccus* 10.

with the Egyptians but with "the more noble Macedonians."[55]

Grätz says that the Jews won the aristocratic circles, and the Christians won the masses.[56] Bertholet says the same thing: "The upper, cultivated and enlightened circles were able to bring to Jewish monotheism more understanding and sympathy than the common folk, whose superstition found greater satisfaction in animal worship and by whom much had to be suffered."[57] On the other hand, Radin reverses the emphasis: "While, therefore, it was mainly from among the masses that Jewish converts came, here and there men of education must have found the Jewish preachers as convincing as the philosophic revivalists who boasted of no more respectable credentials."[58] Similarly, Montefiore:[59] "Like Christianity, it was better and more attractive in low places than in high ones." In Reinach's opinion, "Proselytism swayed alike the upper and the lower classes of society. The great number of Jews passing through the state of slavery must, of course, have catechized their comrades rather than their masters. Yet one hears also of distinguished converts and even illustrious ones."[60] George Foot Moore concludes,[61] "The converts were . . . of all ranks in society."

While the records which we have studied give the chief emphasis to the upper classes, we must not forget how incomplete these records, as all ancient records, are. Only recently have scholars realized what an undue prominence the vicissitudes of ancient records have given to Paul. We know of Apollos only because once he walked across the Pauline stage. How little would we have known of Ananias, the propagandist, if he had not happened upon the royal heir of Adiabene at the court of Charanx-Spasini! Or if, indeed, the young Izates had not struck the fancy of Josephus! It is probably pretty good evidence for the absence of many influential among early Christians that they find no place in the records. On the other hand, the silence as to the lower classes in Judaism is no evidence that they did not exist.

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[55] Josephus, *Ant.* 12:3:1; *War* 2:16:4.

[56] *Die jüdische Proselyten,* 1883, p. 33, quoted in Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,* Series II, pp. 64f.

[57] Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[58] *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans,* 1916, p. 242.

[59] *Synoptic Gospels,* 2nd ed., 1927, Int. p. civ.

[60] "Diaspora" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* IV, 570.

[61] *Judaism,* I, 349.

As Reinach has reminded us,[62] a great number of Jews went abroad as slaves. This was true not only of those carried to Rome by Pompey and Titus and of the numbers sold by them at the auction block in the East, but also of those reaching the stage of slavery by the various routes open in antiquity. Such slaves, in so far as they were zealous Jews, would exert their influence over their fellow slaves, just as Paul the prisoner preached his gospel to his fellow-prisoners. But Gentile slaves were reached through other means, as we know. The Talmud[63] mentions the practice of making proselytes of slaves owned by Jewish masters. That this practice prevailed is shown by the laws of Hadrian against circumcising a slave, and by the later laws of the Christian Roman empire against proselytizing slaves and finally against a Jew owning a Gentile slave at all.[64] The influence brought to bear upon a slave can be imagined. It seems that frequently conversion was the price of manumission.[65]

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[62] See above, p. 125.

[63] Yeb. 8:1.

Expatriate Jews of the humble class are seen in Juvenal. All that he can see of their belongings is "a basket and a truss of hay."[66] Yet he portrays them as interpreting the laws of Jerusalem (*interpres legum Solymarum*) and acting as go-between of the highest heaven (*summi fida internuntia cœli*).[67] That is, they are exerting their influence toward the spread of Judaism, though it be perhaps of a crude sort.

The place which women occupied in the circle of proselytes may shed some light upon our problem of the classes of society reached by propaganda. The later Gospels, Acts and the Christian apocryphal writings abundantly testify to the important part women played in the development of early Christianity. We find ourselves in much the same atmosphere when we take up references to proselyting activity in Josephus. The traveling proselytist Ananias begins his work in the women's quarter at Charanx-Spasini before he reaches Izates. And he has good success there.[68] Josephus says that the men of Damascus, in a certain crisis, distrusted their own wives, because of their general favor for the Jewish religion.[69] He mentions two women proselytes by name, Fulvia[70] and Helena,[71] and shows us Poppæa in a very favorable mood toward Judaism.[72] Acts shows us that some of the early converts to Christianity were women God-fearers.[73] It is perhaps accidental, but exceedingly interesting, that the only Greek inscription mentioning a proselyte refers to a woman, and that three out of four of the Latin inscriptions commemorate women proselytes.[74]

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[64] Juster, *op. cit.*, II, 72f.

[65] Schürer, *Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche*, p. 203.

[66] *Sat.* 3:13ff.; cf. also Martial 1:41:3-5, "The tramping hawker from beyond the Tiber who exchanges pale sulphur matches for broken glass."

[67] *Sat.* 6:542ff.; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 291f.

[68] *Ant.* 20:2:2.

[69] *War* 2:20:2.

A circumstance which operated peculiarly in favor of the conversion of women was that the women escaped the onerous, painful and sometimes dangerous rite of circumcision. Aside from this, however, the women had an advantage in their lack of official relation to the local cults. Judaism was intolerantly monotheistic. While no doubt some compromised, to be a true Jew meant to separate one's self from all other religious loyalties. This was well understood, and was the cause of frequent breaks between Jews and their Gentile neighbors. For to the Gentile ordinary good citizenship required attendance upon the rites of the local shrines and temples. While the Jew stood upon the ground of special privilege,[75] the proselyte found himself embarrassed in proportion to the prominence of his position in the community. The position of Flavius Clemens was impossible, and he was soon disposed of.[76] Domitilla was only banished. What a woman might be or do religiously was in the hands of her husband, for the most part, and he might be indulgent. A man, however, was the priest of his household and might have important functions to perform for the community. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the larger successes of an intolerant religion like Judaism, as indeed of Christianity, would take place among those of lower social rank, who had little or no responsibility in the local cults.[77]

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[70] *Ant.* 18:3:5.

[71] *Ant.* 20:2:3.

[72] *Life* 3; *Ant.* 20:8:11.

[73] Acts 13:50; 17:4.

[74] See above, p. 21, note 14; p. 30, note 26.

[75] See below, p. 140f.

[76] Dio Cassius 67:14; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 195f. Josephus probably knew more about proselytism in Rome than he thought it expedient to write. Izates and his court were conveniently distant.

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[77] George Foot Moore, *Judaism,* I, 326.

CHAPTER IX

THE MOTIVES THAT LED MEN TO JUDAIZE

The spread of Judaism, as we have already remarked,[1] was a part of a world-wide tendency toward interpenetration of cultures and change in religious alliances. Isis, Cybele, and Mithra also were claiming their votaries and spreading their influence to the limits of the empire. It is important, therefore, for us to examine our sources carefully and to ask what were the motives which led people to choose out Judaism among the rival faiths of the period?

The Book of Ruth attempts to picture conditions in Palestine in the period of the Judges, but the writer's interest is in his own post-exilic times. Ruth, a member of a nearby tribe, is moved by personal attachment to Naomi, her mother-in-law, to come over to the latter's native land and to become fully assimilated to her religion and people. Much as has been made of Ruth, in Jewish and Christian literature, as an ideal proselyte, it is clear from the story that she comes not because of dissatisfaction with her old gods, or any consciousness of religious need, but solely because she loves Naomi so much that she cannot be parted from her. Naomi had left her fatherland because of economic pressure; now she is going home. The story has nothing to tell us of advantages conceived of as peculiarly Jewish. Like Ruth, no doubt, many another was led to Judaism by personal attachment and friendship.

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[1] See above, pp. 15-17.

The Book of Esther (c. 130 B.C.) finds its setting in a different atmosphere. The events centering about the plot of Haman which culminates in the exaltation of Mordecai convince the Persians that the Jews are a powerful people. The result is, as the story concludes, that "many of the people of the land became Jews; for the fear of the Jews fell upon them."[2] Nothing is said as to any conviction of the superiority of the Jewish religion, but we may assume that this was involved: the Jews were powerful because their God was powerful.[3] There is no hint here of dissatisfaction, in the strictly religious sense, with their old gods. In fact, it has often been noted that the word for God does not occur in the book. Fear is baldly portrayed as the only motive.

This motive seen in Esther is the motive which operated during the period of the Maccabean conquests. The peoples round about, as they were subdued, had their choice of annihilation or Judaization. Generally they chose the latter.[4] However, there is this difference, that in Esther we have what purports to be a picture of conditions in the Diaspora. While under the Maccabees we have social amalgamation into a great Jewish kingdom, in Esther we have the Jews remaining a minor group, albeit a powerful minority, and many of the majority, for their own advantage, coming over to it.

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[2] Esther 8:17.

[3] This is clearly avowed in the Book of Judith (c. 150 B.C.): "But when Achior saw all the things that the God of Israel had done, he believed in God exceedingly and circumcised the flesh of his foreskin and was joined unto the house of Israel unto this day" (4:10).

[4] The alternative was forced upon Metilius, the Roman general, also, during the revolt. He chose Judaism, and was circumcised (Josephus, *War* 2:17:10).

This picture agrees with the situation as revealed by other sources. The Jews of the Diaspora were frequently a powerful minority, a fact which is the key to the understanding of their position of favor in the midst of changing imperial régimes. Cyrus and his successors found it to their advantage to restore and guard the Judean state on their western frontier. Alexander also gave them his favor, and, aside from the wild venture of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucids and Ptolemies generally patronized rather than opposed the Jews. When the Romans extended their power into the East, where they had frequent trouble in keeping the peace, they found it distinctly to their advantage to have a strong but not too strong, friendly nation on the frontier, a nation which even had compatriots over the Parthian border. In the cities of Asia Minor, inclined to rebellion, it was well to patronize a Jewish group that would in return support Roman interests. In this region, too, Rome seems to have been the heir of earlier imperial policies.[5]

Enjoying connections of some dignity with Jerusalem, which managed much of the time to maintain a form of independence, and receiving the favor of the powerful Romans, the members of this minority group doubtless were anathema to many of the native peoples among whom they dwelt, but they provided a delightful haven, where accessible, to other foreigners who like the Jews had migrated to large commercial centers. Judaism, therefore, while it certainly suffered from its national character, in contrast with other religions which did not put a badge of nationality upon their converts, did have the advantage of offering to its proselytes the prestige of its position as an influential, clearly marked and privileged social group. It was scattered over all countries, and so offered convenient connections for people of itinerant callings. It was wealthy in many places, and carried everywhere the favor of the emperors. Such a group, frequently with separate quarters for residence,[6] with special courts for trial,[7] and with the possibility of escape from military service,[8] must have been singularly attractive, especially for such as had not the privileges of Roman citizenship and whose position in society was precarious. How far this motive operated we do not know, nor do we know how strictly the Romans limited Jewish privileges to those actually born Jews. It is generally assumed that they acted with great strictness, but it was obviously a difficult matter to draw the line, especially if the proselytes were of kindred racial ancestry. We know that in Domitian's day the mark of circumcision, which the proselyte could also boast, was resorted to as a final test.[9] Aside, however, from the legal privileges which the Jews enjoyed, there were evident advantages from affiliation of any sort with a group of some strength and influence in a great Græco-Roman city.

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[5] "The Roman principle 'to rule by dividing' was not first discovered by the Romans. The Seleucid kings were quite well aware that the more unpopular the Jews were with their neighbors, the more loyal they must be to the interests of the kings, who supported them against popular riot and hostility" (Ramsay, "The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities" in *Expositor,* 6th Series, V (1902), 19).

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[6] Philo, *Against Flaccus* 8; Josephus, *War* 2:18:7. Martial, *Epigrams* 1:41:3-5: "The tramping hawker from beyond the Tiber."

[7] *Ant.* 14:10:17; Acts 18:12-17; II Cor. 11:24.

[8] *Ant.* 14:10:11-14.

There were slaves among the Jews of the Diaspora and, of course, constant contact between Jewish and Gentile slaves. Through such associations doubtless many a slave was led to become a Jew. If he were the slave of a Jewish master he might hope thereby to win the favor of his master and eventually his freedom.[10] If he were the slave of a Gentile master he might hope to be redeemed by the synagogue to which he was attached, or to be bought or perhaps redeemed by wealthy Jews as an act of humanity.[11]

Marriage is frequently noted as a motive for proselytism. Josephus mentions a number of instances where neighboring princes were required to become Jews as a prerequisite to their marriage with Herodian princesses.[12] In most cases they complied. This motive probably did not operate alone among the royal class. Mixed marriages were common,[13] and we may suspect that love, money, position and such interests as operate to-day moved men and women to become Jews in order to make marriage possible. It is possible that Ovid[14] has in mind the prospect of winning a rich Jewess when he mentions the "ceremonies of the Syrian Jew" as a trysting place, but he may mean merely that the Jewish gatherings, like the feasts of Adonis, offer a good place to meet idle and easily beguiled women.

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[9] Suetonius *Domitian* 12; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 333. See above, p. 118, note 29.

[10] Schürer, *Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche,* pp. 200ff.; *Geschichte* III, 94.* Cf. Exod. 21:2; Yeb. 8:1.

[11] Radin, *The Jews among the Greeks and Romans,* 1916, p. 364.

[12] *Ant.* 20:7:1: Azizus, king of Emesa, to marry Drusilla, after another had failed to fulfill the condition. *Ant.* 20:7:3: Polemo, king of Cilicia, to marry Berenice. When she was untrue he forsook her and Judaism. *Ant.* 16:7:6: Sylleus, minister to Obodas, king of Arabia, gave up Salome rather than risk a stoning by the Arabians if he was circumcised.

[13] Acts 16:1. Philo, *Spec. Laws* 3:5 (On 6th and 7th Commandments).

The Talmud recognizes various inadequate motives which may lead to one's becoming a Jew: desire to marry a Jew or a Jewess, ambition to gain favor as a member of an influential Jewish group, superstitious fear, or fear of the power of the Jews.[15] The difficulty of testing motives was apparent, and the tendency was to assume that the motive was sincere.

However much such influences as I have named may have operated to turn Gentiles to the Jewish faith they were nevertheless minor influences. We can assign Judaism's great success as a propagandist faith to nothing else than to moral and spiritual elements, that is, to the satisfactions which she had to offer in the strictly religious field.[16] The wide area over which we find the use of the divine name shows the power it had gotten over men's minds.[17]

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[14] *Ars Amatoria* 1:75. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 248.

[15] Kidd. 4:1.

[16] "It is hardly necessary to state that a great religious conquest can be explained only on moral grounds" (Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,* Eng. trans., p. 26).

[17] Blau, *Die altjüdische Zauberwesen,* 1898, p. 106; Ed. Meyer, *Die Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums,* 1921, II, 119f. 355-361; Deissman, *Bible Studies,* 1895, p. 36. Note the striking statement of Origen: "The names of these individuals possess such efficacy, when united with the name of God, that not only do those belonging to the nation employ in their prayer to God, and in the exorcising of demons the words 'God of Abraham and God of

The desire of the ancient period for exorcism of all kinds of evil is testified to by the New Testament and by many other Christian and pagan documents. The records of Jewish magic show us how it strove to meet the need of the age.[18]

The same interest that led to magic led also to an intense interest in eschatology. For magic was widely relied on, not only as a means of salvation from malign forces in this world but also from those that met one in the world to come. The enigmatic name of the Jewish God, the peculiar character of the Jewish people, their rites and symbols, the imposing Temple in Jerusalem, the ancient volume of Scriptures, all served to impress the Gentile. In the world in which he lived the question was one of getting hold of the God that was all-powerful, who in the impending catastrophe at the end of the age could save him and who, when He sat on His throne of judgment, could pass him on to realms of bliss. It is to this motive that the *Sibylline Oracles* make frequent appeal. God, the Creator of heaven and earth, is the only worthy object of worship; lifeless images and mere creatures are of no avail (3:8-35). The woes that await the heathen cities can be escaped only by turning to the God of the Jews (3:703-710). Even Philo, whose emphasis is so largely philosophical, does not entirely avoid this

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Isaac and God of Jacob,' but so also do almost all those who occupy themselves with incantations and magical rites" (*Contra Celsum* 4:33).

[18] E.g. Acts 8:9; 13:6; 19:13; *Ant.* 8:2:5; Justin, *Trypho* 85; Bk. Jub. 10:10-14; Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* 2:6:2. Solomon was lauded to the Greeks as a great magician who had left behind many efficacious formulæ. See esp. Josephus *supra.*

phase of Judaism. According to him the followers of the true God are to be freed from bondage and all come in triumph to Jerusalem, the center of the new age.[19]

There can be no doubt that a great part of the force that drew the Gentiles to Judaism was the high ethical and moral tone of Judaism. Its emphasis upon ceremonial cleanness and the strict observance of certain moral laws as bases for judgment was highly self-evidencing in an age when the Orphic influences had spread widely. Schürer gives as one of his three reasons for the success of proselytism "the fact that the Jewish religion aimed at the practical realization of a moral and happy life." [20] The development of Hellenistic philosophy had been along this very line. The Stoicism of the first century A.D. was highly ethical, as seen in the teachings and character of such leaders as Seneca and Epictetus. Philosophers were established in all the great centers, teaching the way to the best and highest life, and itinerant teachers were on every road. Judaism harmonized well with this strain in ancient life. It combined a very lofty ethic, embodied in an ancient Scripture, with a monotheistic theology equally appealing to the trend of the period. In the religious realm, therefore, Judaism responded in ethical tone and theology to the spirit of one level of society; in another sphere it met the desire for an effective magic, guaranteeing victory over lower powers in this world and the next.

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[19] *On Curses* 8-10. Yet he says "Do not look for the city of the living God in the regions of the earth, for it is not made of wood or of stone, but seek it in the soul . . . " (*Dreams* 2:39).

[20] *Geschichte,* III, 157 (Eng. trans., Div. II, Vol. II, p. 299).

CHAPTER X

REACTION AND DECLINE OF PROSELYTISM

IN spite of all the success that we can ascribe to Judaism in the New Testament period, the simple fact remains that in the end it did not win the world. "The first great missionary religion" [1] gave place to another which, following closely upon it, reaped the harvest which had been so diligently sowed and watered. Our final problem is to find the causes for the reaction and decline in the movement which bade fair to be the heir of the empire of Græcō-Roman paganism.

ANTI-JUDAISM

There was a counter-influence operating during the whole period of proselytism: namely, anti-Judaism. It seems to have preceded the period of most active propaganda, for Manetho [2] records libelous stories inspired by a spirit of hatred and contempt as current in the early second century before Christ.[3] Josephus' treatment of the subject [4] at the end of the first century A.D. is a witness to its persistence. From Manetho to Josephus there was much repetition, with variation, of the same charges.[5] Anti-Judaism was evidenced not only by literary attacks and counter-attacks, however, but also by violent clashes between Gentile and Jew in the great centers of population, such as Alexandria, Damascus, Antioch, and Ephesus.[6] In Rome, Cicero in his defense of Flaccus could count on the feeling against the Jews to help his client.[7] Vespasian and Titus felt this spirit as something different from the feeling against other vanquished countries, and so did not follow the custom of other conquerors by adding *Judaicus* to their titles of victory.[8] Later Tacitus catered to Roman appetite by dishing up anew all the old libels that had sprung from Alexandria.[9]

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[1] Moore, *Judaism,* I, 324.

[2] In Josephus, *Against Apion* 1:26-31.

[3] It was current also in the time of the writing of the Book of Esther, dated probably from much the same period, though perhaps somewhat earlier.

[4] His treatise *Against Apion.*

The sources of this ill will lay deep. In Egypt it seems to have arisen first as a counterblast to the Jewish tradition of their national origin, for much of the calumny takes that line. That it should have spread widely, however, through the empire, finally finding expression in Rome and eliciting its most extended reply[10] there, requires an explanation that takes cognizance of wider social influence.

The Jews were intolerant in an age when men generally were widely tolerant. This was especially irritating on the part of an immigrant people. In the places where they settled they refused proper respect for the local deities, and so seemed to be no real part of the life of the city to which they came. Josephus repeats the accusation brought by Apion: "If the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods with the Alexandrians?"[11] The Jews, moreover, not only neglected the local gods but openly denounced them, as we see in the *Sibylline Oracles,* the Wisdom of Solomon and elsewhere. To this intolerance was added a social exclusiveness which was closely akin to it. Josephus says that the Jews in Alexandria were favored with a separate part of the city to dwell in in order that they might avoid defilement.[12] This idea of ceremonial purity required avoidance of certain ordinary social contacts, and so gave the Jews the attitude of superiority toward all other peoples.[13] Peculiar religious observances required their gathering together about their own social center, the synagogue, where they interpreted and administered their own laws.

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[5] *Against Apion* 1:26-2:2.

[6] Josephus, *Ant.* 20:8:7, 9; *War* 2:20:2; 7:3:3; Philo, *Against Flaccus, Address to Caius;* Acts 19:21ff.; *War* 2:18:7: "But for Alexandria, the sedition of the people of the place against the Jews was perpetual." Cf. *Against Apion* 2:6.

[7] *Pro Flacco* 28.

[8] Dio Cassius 66:7. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 195.

[9] *History* 5:2-5. For the Egyptian source cf. *Against Apion* 1:25.

[10] Josephus, *Against Apion.*

Probably the crowning cause of dislike for the Jews in the ancient world was their privileges. The Seleucids settled them in Asia Minor and Syria,[14] and the Ptolemies in Egypt, with special privileges.[15] The Romans, coming to rule in the eastern Mediterranean, were ready to perpetuate the Jews' privileges in return for having the bulwark of their loyalty in restless centers.[16] The Jews were "a counterbalance to the unquiet spirit of the Greek cities." [17]

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[11] *Against Apion* 2:6.

[12] *War* 2:18:7.

[13] E.g., When the distribution of oil was made the Jews, to avoid defilement, received its monetary equivalent (*Ant.* 12:3:1).

[14] *Ant.* 12:3:3-4.

[15] *Ant.* 12:1:1.

Outsiders then, with special privileges superimposed,[18] they could not be popular with the people among whom they lived, especially since their interests were bound up with the distant overlords,[19] and their religious and social exclusiveness led them to take no part in the common life. Excused from military duty because of the danger of breaking the laws of Sabbath and defilement,[20] and also excused from appearing in court on the Sabbath; [21] permitted to meet freely in their synagogues and to assemble and send to Jerusalem large sums of gold, regardless of local economic interests;[22] enjoying the privilege of their own local government,[23] getting Roman aid when needed against their fellow-townsmen,[24] and having an advocate frequently at the very ear of the emperor; [25] they excited the jealousy of the rest of the world.

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[16] "Seleucus Nicator made them citizens in those cities which he built in Asia and in lower Syria and in the metropolis itself, Antioch; and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants, insomuch that these privileges continue to this very day (*Ant.* 12:3:1). "It was Alexander who introduced us into this city (Alexandria) at first, the kings augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable" (*Against Apion* 2:6).

[17] Dobschütz, "Jews and Anti-Semites in Ancient Alexandria," in *American Journal of Theology,* VIII, 752f.

[18] Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines (Papyrus 1912 in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt,* 1924), perhaps echoing the envy of the Greeks, reminds the Jews of the fact that they "enjoy in a city not their own an abundance of all good things."

[19] Ramsay thinks they were used by Seleucids and Romans just because of their unpopularity on the principle, "Divide and rule." See above, p. 132, note.

[20] *Ant.* 14:10:12, 13; cf. 14:10:6. [21] *Ant.* 16:6:4.

[22] *Ant.* 16:6:1-7; Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28.

[23] *Ant.* 14:7:2; 19:5:2; II Cor. 11:25, 32.

[24] *Ant.* 14:10:8; 16:6:5.

Finally, they inspired suspicion. They claimed their nation to be the favorite of heaven and to have prophecies that placed the future of the world in their hands.[26] Faithful as they might claim to be to Rome, as a matter of fact the Jews were divided in allegiance between Parthia and Rome.[27] No doubt the crescendo of ill will that marked the period after the war with Rome [28] was due partly to this suspicion, as well as to wrath at the great cost of the conquest of Jerusalem and to contempt for a conquered people. This was foreshadowed in the remarks of Cicero several generations before, when he inveighed against "the Jews our enemies" and spurned their God who could not protect his Temple against Pompey's desecration.[29]

THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ANTI-JUDAISM

It was during this latter period, from about the time of the Jewish revolt, that Christianity began to be a conspicuous phenomenon in the Græco-Roman world. The Christian movement, coming out from but repudiating Judaism, soon found itself in line with the anti-Jewish sentiment which prevailed everywhere. The story of Jesus' life and the apologetic for the gospel as against the law found new force when placed against this background. Christians interpreted the destruction of Jerusalem in ways that made the conquerors God's servants and the whole calamity a punishment for the wrongs inflicted upon Jesus.[30] Jewish leaders became the symbols of hypocrisy [31] and the nation the personification of cruelty.[32] The gospels and other early Christian literature reflect this antipathy to the Jews; the setting forth of their unworthiness made an integral part of the gospel message.

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[25] E.g. Poppæa, Agrippa.

[26] Suetonius, *Vespasian,* 4; Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 330f.

[27] Communities in the Tigris-Euphrates valley. For attempt to use the Parthians against the Romans and Roman sympathizers, see *Ant.* 14:13:3ff.; *War* 1:31:1.

[28] Note the work of Tacitus, *History* V; and Josephus' extended apology, *Against Apion.*

[29] *Pro Flacco* 28. Reinach, *Textes,* p. 241.

So new traditions, which were more reasonable and had to do with more recent times, were added to, if not substituted for, the old stories out of Egypt, and anti-Jewish propaganda proceeded *pari passu* with the propaganda of Christianity.[33] The effect of this new movement upon proselytism can hardly be overestimated. The new religion was an anti-Jewish Judaism, which claimed all the high prerogatives of the more ancient faith. It took over the Jewish Scriptures in their Greek form, found their fulfillment in the rejected Jesus, and laid claim to all the high ethical idealism that centered in Judaism. Therefore, operating in the same field where the Diaspora Jews had preached Moses, it rejected Judaism and stoutly opposed it. The Jews are no longer entitled even to their old name. They are henceforth "hypocrites,"[34] the "synagogue of Satan."[35]

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[30] "That you alone may suffer that which you now justly suffer, and that your land may be desolate and your cities burned with fire; and that strangers may eat your fruit in your presence and not one of you may go up to Jerusalem" (Justin, *Trypho* 16).

[31] Gospel of Matthew 23; cf. also *Didache* 8:1.

[32] Acts 3:13-15; 7:51-52. Paul, in his figure of the grafting in of the wild olive tree, warns against the false pride that resulted from such contempt for the Jews (Romans ii).

[33] In many Christian countries anti-Judaism still survives.

Jewish propaganda had long made its way against formidable hatred, finding such hatred a splendid foil against which to bring out all its armory of apologetic and invective. Had Judaism been in the same position as she was when she replied to the earlier calumnies she might have found a hearing, as she doubtless did then. Now, however, affairs had taken a new turn. No longer sporadic and local, the ill-will had coalesced and spread throughout the empire.

The anti-Jewish gospel tradition synchronized with the rebellions of the Jews, who thus became the enemies of the civilized world. The fall of Jerusalem after the long and bitter warfare under Vespasian and Titus, the outbreaks under Trajan throughout Africa and the East, the Jews really attacking the emperor in the rear while he was engaged in the conquest of Mesopotamia, the later stubborn three-year revolt under Hadrian—two full generations and more of rebellion—could not help deepening the chasm that had long existed between Gentile and Jew and convincing the empire that the Jew was ungrateful, unsocial, unassimilable, and altogether undependable.

This condition made all the more difficult the passing over of any but the hardiest souls to the religion of the Jews. To do so meant to mark themselves at once as enemies of their fellows in the military sense, for the Jews seemed always ready for arms. This may help to explain the summary and harsh treatment of Flavius Clemens in Domitian's time.[36]

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[34] *Didache* 8:1. Cf. Matt. 6:2, etc.

[35] Rev. 2:9.

Jewish Revolts

But, more than this, the long period of revolt must have done much to disillusion the prospective proselyte as to the nature of Judaism. Presented by Philo and other propagandists as the religion of mankind, devoted to the one true God, who would bring in the era of peace and good will, it was now revealed as narrowly nationalistic. There was nothing of humanity and love in the bitter conflicts, and even the fellowship which bound proselyte and Jew must have grown cold. Due to its universalistic interpretation and the constant association of God-fearers, no doubt the national character of Judaism in the Diaspora had considerably paled, but the new struggles with Rome, involving even these Jews abroad, spread again the old narrow spirit. Soon North Africa, Cyprus and Mesopotamia, and probably other areas, were all aflame.[37] Racial lines were drawn sharply and every act of violence by Jews fortified the long-existing antipathy to them. Cyprus forbade any Jew, even in the extremity of shipwreck, ever to set foot on her soil.[38]

Not only the conflict itself but also the disastrous results were especially disillusioning. Philo had felt that the political subjection of the Jewish people in his day was a great handicap to proselytism:

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[36] Dio Cassius 67:14. Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 195f.

[37] Dio Cassius 68:32; 69:13; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 196f., 197ff.

[38] Dio Cassius 68:32; Reinach, *Textes*, pp. 196f.

> It is generally the case that a cloud is thrown over the affairs of those who are not flourishing so that little is known of them; and then, if they make any fresh start and begin to improve, how great is the increase of their renown and glory! I think that in that case every nation, abandoning all their own individual customs and utterly disregarding their national laws, would change and come over to the honor of such a people only; for *their laws shining in connection with and simultaneously with the prosperity of the nation* will obscure all others as the rising sun obscures the stars.[39]

Thus Philo conceived the interaction of religious propaganda and political success. If he felt the handicap then, during the early part of the century, how much greater would he have felt it when the Temple was destroyed, Jerusalem laid waste and the Jews forbidden to enter their capital; when the wealth that had poured into the Temple treasuries was now diverted into Roman imperial channels. A single defeat, though disastrous, might have been taken as a temporary setback, but Pompey and Titus and Trajan and Hadrian had successively within a period of four or five generations crushed every Jewish outbreak. And now a temple of Jupiter had been erected on the sacred site, and the statue of Jupiter stood where the Jew had so violently opposed the statue of Caligula.[40] Could such a people now win proselytes to their faith?

[39] *Life of Moses* 2:7.
[40] Jerome on Isa. 2:9.

HINDERING LAWS

Added to the handicap which we have just described came the laws directly hindering the spread of Judaism. Whatever may have been the motive of the law against circumcision [41] its operation as a deterrent to proselytism is very clear. Various peoples in the Orient practiced circumcision,[42] and the fact that special exception was made later of Jews indicates that the law was not directed particularly against them. But the strict limitation of the permission to be circumcised to Jews made full adoption of Judaism by Gentiles possible only under the same severe penalties which were exacted for castration.[43] This handicap continued in force until the time of Constantine, and then took permanent form in the anti-Jewish laws of the so-called Christian empire.

It is impossible now to estimate the influence of these laws upon proselytism. Their repeated enactment probably indicates a tendency to let them slip into disregard, but it also testifies to the continuance of the occasion for them. No doubt proselytism continued in such measure as to attract attention. We know that even in the age of Chrysostom that great preacher became worried because of the friendliness of Christians toward the synagogue, especially toward the Passover celebration and the Jewish courts.[44]

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[41] Beginning with Hadrian.

[42] Cf. *Ep. of Barnabas* 9: "But thou wilt say, 'Yea, the people are circumcised for a seal.' But so is every Syrian and Arab, and all the priests of idols. Yea, the Egyptians also."

[43] Modestin, *Digest* 48:8:11; Justin, *op. cit.*, I, 266, note 1.

[44] Chrysostom's *Eight Homilies Against the Jews;* Renan, "*Judaisme Race ou Religion?*" in his *Discours et Conferences*, p. 365.

RELIGIOUS COMPETITION

Religious movements, as a matter of fact, seldom if ever die of external oppressive influences. The widespread anti-Judaism which had existed for two centuries or more before Christ was utilized and developed by Christianity. The wars with the Romans had shattered Jewish social status in the ancient world. Restrictive legislation had put heavy handicaps upon proselyting activities. But all these are not sufficient causes for the decline in interest in Judaism.

We noted early in this discussion that Judaism did not offer her faith to the world in a clear field. When we first meet Judaism in Rome in 139 B.C., she is suffering expulsion at the same time that violent measures are taken against the "Chaldeans."[45] They are both corrupting Roman morals. When Jews are expelled under Tiberius the Isis worshipers are also expelled.[46] When Paul rises to speak in Ephesus,[47] on the occasion of the riot, the crowd, perceiving that he is a Jew, shout wildly the name of their divinity, Artemis. Josephus, about to tell of the deceiving of a Roman woman by Jewish agents, precedes his narrative, in a true sectarian spirit, with an account of a more disgraceful deception by priests of Isis.[48] Philo clearly betrays the presence of the Mysteries as a competing element in his environment.[49]

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[45] Valerius Maximus 1:3; Reinach, *Textes,* pp. 258f.

[46] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 36; Reinach, *Textes,* p. 328.

[47] Acts 19:34.

[48] *Ant.* 18:3:4-5.

[49] *On Those Sacrificing 12.* See above, p. 100, note 20.

Judaism had had to meet, from her earliest appearance in the pagan world, and to supply if possible, the same basic human needs to which Isis, Demeter and the other popular cults ministered. That she had a higher ethical standard than these can hardly be denied. That she had a more philosophical basis for her appeal seems very clear. But high ethical demands and exacting intellectual discipline are never popular.[50] That her divine name was accepted as powerful in the working of miracles is clear. But the tendency in the ancient world was away from intellectualism toward the mystical; and away from the rigidly ethical to the more mystical and vicarious conceptions of morality. Christianity, following these tendencies, was able to take the field. The mystery element in Christianity fitted into the mind and heart of the Gentile of the first century A.D. Judaism for the most part ignored it, while she maintained her food laws, Sabbath and circumcision,[51] and emphasized her universalistic ethics. Paul, setting forth the way of law over against the way of grace, typifies Christianity's adoption of the winning side in the competition.

DISAPPEARANCE OF PROPAGANDA

The decline of the proselyte movement is noted especially in the disappearance of propaganda. Josephus was the last who concerned himself with making Judaism understood and appreciated in Gentile circles.[52] The Apocrypha, the *Sibylline Oracles* and Philo too were lost to the Jews. Their great apologists and propagandists became objects of suspicion or totally ignored. Something radical had taken place in Judaism itself. The loss of her Temple, important as that was, was not really serious. The most serious thing was the reappearance of the exclusive nationalistic spirit which had marked the nation in other great crises. The universalistic religion of Philo had no further message for the Gentile. Even the Septuagint translation, which had served so well in mediating the Hebrew Scriptures to the Gentile world, was now surrendered to the Christians, together with the Hellenistic intellectual approach which had been worked out at Alexandria.[53] A movement to suppress the very study of Greek itself is reflected in the Mishna, where it records the fact that in the War of Quietus it was ordered that no one should teach his son Greek.[54]

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[50] "Their [Jews'] laws are of necessity strict and rigorous as they are intended to train them to the greatest height of virtue. . . . Such laws the generality of men avoid, because of their inclination for and their adoption of the way of pleasure" (Philo, *On Creation of Magistrates* 6).

[51] These are items which frequently claim the attention of the Gentile.

RISING RACIAL SOLIDARITY

The racial unity of the Jews which appeared so strongly in the insurrection under Trajan in Mesopotamia, Cyrene, Cyprus, and elsewhere can probably be traced to the gradual isolation of the Diaspora Jew. Unpopular from of old, for exclusiveness and reliance upon imperial favors, besieged now by a militant Christianity with a propaganda which stirred anti-Judaism everywhere, separated by that cleavage which his neighbors delighted to make as sharp as possible, the Diaspora Jew was driven to seek closer relations with his brethren of Palestine. In the days of the Alexandrian riots Philo doggedly maintained for his fellow-Jews that the land of their birth was their fatherland.[55] But not all had the vision of a Philo, and those who had it felt it to be unreal in such riotous times. The Jew had never been close to the mass of his neighbors; now he had lost the favor of his powerful patron, the emperor. All that was left was the racial bond.

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[52] Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte, 2te Abteilung,* p. 51. The great apologists, Philo and Josephus, became objects of suspicion or were totally ignored. No one else arose to reply to Greek and Roman calumny.

[53] Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur,* 1912, p. 208.

[54] Sota 9:15.

Henceforth, looked upon by the Gentiles as enemies,[56] the Jews even abroad began to reciprocate. The proselyte in their midst often became an object of suspicion. No doubt confidence had sometimes been betrayed.[57] The attitude of opposition can be appreciated. Banded together now for protection, the Jews feared every disintegrating tendency. It had been recognized that the proselyte could not quickly forget his old national affiliation. Philo had urged his brethren not to stir the latent fires in the proselyte's breast by speaking meanly of his people.[58] Out of experiences of this trying period R. Hiyya, at the end of the second century, said: "It is not possible to have faith in the proselyte until the twenty-fourth generation, for he remains attached to his leaven." [59] But even in such an hour there was respect for the proselyte who, according to the same teacher, "submits to the yoke of God with love and respect and is converted in the view of heaven. God does not reject him, for it is written, 'He loves the proselyte.'" The proselyte remained, therefore, as an abiding phenomenon. But two outstanding facts mark the end of Judaism's world conquest: first, the Gentile world found its satisfactions elsewhere; second, Judaism lost her propagandist zeal.

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[55] *Against Flaccus* 7; cf. also *Address to Caius* 22: "Our [city of] Alexandria."

[56] See above, p. 145f.

[57] Kohler, *Jewish Theology*, pp. 419f.

[58] *On Monarchy* 2:7.

SUMMARY

Judaism, like all ancient religions, developed along national lines. Its first foreign adherents were socially assimilated members of nearby tribes. Through the medium of a widely spread Diaspora its monotheism and high ethics made a strong impression on the Gentile world in the period just before and after the beginning of our era. The Jews themselves, with a new national consciousness which arose out of the Maccabean struggles, launched a direct propaganda for their faith, using various methods to reach the Gentile heart. The religious atmosphere of the time favored them; their own privileged position favored them; and such evidence as is available points to wide success. But the anti-Judaism which had arisen early in Alexandria, and had found a broad acceptance on the basis of Jewish non-assimilation and imperial privilege and favor, was later fed by the hatred stirred by the Palestinian revolt and especially by the new Christian tradition. As this feeling grew, Jewish nationalism more and more asserted itself, and all propaganda for the winning of Gentiles ceased. Finally only those were received as proselytes who could show real sincerity and a stout heart, and even they were admitted reluctantly.

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[59] Yalkout on Ruth 60; Levi, *"Le Proselytisme juif"* in ***Revue des études juives,*** **LI (1906), 7.**

Briefly, it may be said that Judaism failed to win the world because of one thing which it had and one thing which it did not have. The first was the element of nationality, which strove to make all its converts members of the nation as well as followers of the law. "The Mithraic church," says George Foot Moore,[60] "lost all connection with nationality, race or locality. The initiate to the degree of Persa did not become a Persian, any more than as a neophyte he was a crow, or later in his progress a lion." Not so with the Jews. They demanded the substitution of the Mosaic law for the civil laws and the complete separation of the proselyte from his own people. The thing that Judaism lacked was the mystery element, especially the mystery of redemption. That Judaism did not meet this need was due less to the measure of its inherent capacities for adaptation than to the early sharp separation of Christianity from the parent religion and its phenomenal success among the Gentiles. That the Jewish religion did not rise out of the confines of nationalism was due chiefly to the reactions from the revolts against Rome and to the solidification of its ranks against the attacks of Christianity. In such a mood Judaism came to spurn the fruits of its own seed-sowing, while Christianity, unconscious of the wide extent of its indebtedness, reaped them as its own.

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[60] *Judaism,* I, 233.

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